Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-224
Thursday
19 November 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-224 *19 November 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ALBANIA

Berisha on Kosovo, Balkans, Austrian Relations *[Vienna KURIER 19 Nov]* 2
On Farm Privatization *[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 29 Oct]* 2
On Human Rights *[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 30 Oct]* 3

BULGARIA

Ganev: Latest UN Sanctions To Be Implemented *[BTA]* 4
Ganev Raises Danube Tolls Issue With Djukic *[BTA]* 4
UN Narcotics Experts Warn of Legislative Defects *[BTA]* 4
Minister on Air Traffic Deal With Swiss Firm *[BTA]* 5
Parliament Chairman Receives Russian Ambassador *[BTA]* 5
Ministry Extends Export Ban to Ex-Yugoslavia *[Sofia Radio]* 5
General Staff Issues Communique on Edirne Document *[BTA]* 5
Dimitrov, Dogan Talk; Progress Reported *[BTA]* 6
Disagreement on Intelligence Service Control *[BTA]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Moravcik on Reaction To Split at CSCE Meeting *[Bratislava Radio]* 7
Parliament Postpones Talk on Joint Agreements *[CSTK]* 7
Klaus Address on Federation Termination Bill *[Prague Radio]* 8
Federal Assembly Rejects Law on Federation Split *[CSTK]* 9
Strasky Discusses Federal Property Division *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 17 Nov]* 9
Implications of Central Bank's Demise Viewed *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 16 Nov]* 11
Party Officials View Right-Wing Fragmentation *[METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF 17 Nov]* 12
LSU Favors Direct Czech President Elections *[CSTK]* 12

HUNGARY

Antall, Havel on Views on Central-Eastern Europe *[MTI]* 13
Ministry Denies Intent To Buy German Weapons *[MTI]* 13
Agreement With Russia on Minorities Viewed *[NEPSZABADSAG 13 Nov]* 13
Csurka Reacts to Antall Speech at Liberal Forum *[NEPSZAVA 17 Nov]* 14

POLAND

Walesa Proposes Rights, Liberties Charter *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 13 Nov]* 15
Politicians Comment on Draft *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 14-15 Nov]* 15
Suchocka Signs Economic Agreements With Belarus *[PAP]* 16
Controversy Over Abortion Referendum Continues *[PAP]* 16
Martial Law Committee Seeking More Evidence *[PAP]* 17
'Lot' Airline Becomes State Treasury Company *[PAP]* 17

ROMANIA

Accord on Romania's Association With EC Sealed *[ROMPRES]* 18
Stolojan To Work at World Bank in Washington *[ROMPRES]* 18
Parliament Discusses Vacaroiu's Program *[ROMPRES]* 18

Coposu To Oppose Any 'Authoritarianism' *[DREPTATEA 12 Nov]* 19
AC's Constantinescu Discusses Political Doctrines *[ROMANIA LIBERA 12 Nov]* 20
IMF Approves Third Installment of Loan *[ROMPRES]* 20
Popescu Chairs Government Meeting on Fuel Prices *[ROMPRES]* 20

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Silajdzic Calls Arms Embargo 'Unjust, Immoral' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
Serbs Reportedly Violating Agreement *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
Gorazde 'Desperate' for Humanitarian Aid *[Zagreb Radio]* 22
Serbs Say Muslims Delaying Release of Captives *[TANJUG]* 22

CROATIA

Vance, Owen Begin Visit To Krajina *[Zagreb Radio]* 23
Tudjman Talks With Islamic Conference Delegation *[Zagreb TV]* 23
News Conference Reports Serb Truce Violations *[Zagreb Radio]* 23
Status of Krsko Nuclear Power Plant Questioned *[NOVI VJESNIK 29 Oct]* 23
Questions on Vukovar Crimes Remain *[NOVI VJESNIK 28 Oct]* 24
Fact-Finding Trip to Vukovar Discussed *[NIN 30 Oct]* 25

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Poll Shows Cosic Strongest Candidate *[TANJUG]* 27
Early Elections To Be Held as Planned *[TANJUG]* 27
Suspension From CSCE Extended *[POLITIKA 8 Nov]* 27

Serbia

Opposition Parties Form Election Coalition *[TANJUG]* 27

Macedonia

Georgievski Discusses Integrity of State *[KONTINENT 11 Nov]* 28

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarian Official on New Ministry *[NEPSZABADSAG 16 Nov]* 29

Czechoslovakia

CSTK reports that the Federal Assembly failed to approve government-submitted legislation on the termination of the Czechoslovak Federation. The proposal received the required majority in the House of the People and in the Czech half of the House of Nations, but it "fell short" in the Slovak half of the House of Nations. Following the vote, a 12-member arbitration committee was "charged with finding a compromise that would guarantee the bill's passage."

Poland

Rzeczpospolita reports that President Lech Walesa has sent a draft "Charter of Rights and Liberties" to the Sejm. The charter guarantees freedom of speech and association, prohibits censorship, protects private property, and affords equal access to public service and health care.

Hungary

Following German-Hungarian defense talks, the Defense Ministry issued a communique calling reports that Hungary is seeking to exchange "its worn-out weapons for complete usable" German arms "groundless," MTI reports. The communique added that the ministry only wants to buy "spare parts and supplementary material" from the stocks of the former East German Army.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic denounced the continuation of the UN embargo on arms exports to Bosnia, Sarajevo radio reports. Saying that there are "no real arguments against" lifting the embargo, Silajdzic called the UN decision "unjust, immoral, and illegal."

Berisha on Kosovo, Balkans, Austrian Relations

AU1911110592 Vienna KURIER in German 19 Nov 92 p 3

[Report by Ingrid Steiner: "Berisha: The Third Balkan War Is Imminent"]

[Text] Economic misery and the danger of an imminent war in neighboring Kosovo force Albania to overcome the decades of isolation as quickly as possible. President Sali Berisha, who arrived for a short visit to President Thomas Klestil in Vienna on 18 November, also expects support from Austria. The KURIER talked with Berisha about the following topics:

A Possible Escalation in Kosovo

Albania is trying to avoid a conflict. We will keep all international agreements. But we will not accept ethnic cleansing. If the situation escalates, there will be a third Balkan war. The Albanians have lived in Kosovo for 1,000 years, they have their homes there and the right to live there. Nobody must expel them. Unfortunately, in a way the cleansing has already started. Albanians who are afraid and in need leave Kosovo every day.

Troop Movements at Albania's Border With Kosovo

There are exercises at the border, but they are connected with our army reforms. We must restructure our Army, which was keyed to two enemies: NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact fell apart and we are striving for NATO membership.

Austria's Position in the Balkan Conflict

I am greatly obliged to President Klestil and, in the first place, Foreign Minister Mock. Austria correctly assessed the situation in the Balkans from the very beginning. If international politicians had listened to Mock, there might never have been a war in Yugoslavia.

Economic Difficulties

There is slow progress. We concluded our agreement with the IMF, which will result in loans for the country. Moreover, the agriculture privatization program is to be concluded in two months, and in two weeks the privatization of apartments will be initiated.

Legal Proceedings Against Former Communists

Only symbolic proceedings will take place. A postauthoritarian society must be capable of leniency and not permit hatred and revenge.

On Farm Privatization

AU1811165892 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 29 Oct 92 p 1

[Speech by President Sali Berisha to the Council of Ministers on 27 October: "An Important Decision for the Development of our Agriculture"]

[Text] The decision to privatize farms is a very important step in the development of our private agriculture. The farms, which represent perhaps 50 percent of our potential, were transformed into no man's land, no one's property. Even when they were sown, they were not harvested, and in most of the cases were burned or left barren. In many of them production decreased by five to ten times during a year. The contrast between their miserable state and the land given to the peasants was great, considering the change from the mentality of the old collectives to the new one is based on the free market economy.

The privatization of farms marks the end of the Stalinist sovkhozes on Albanian land. The peasant will now become owner of his land and home. The government decision on this problem is of great importance on the road of the reform which, I repeat it, is above political partisanship. In fact, all parties represented in the administration and parliament have supported privatization of the farms, and I appreciate this very much. That is why I require help from all elected officials to rapidly accomplish it. This decision will grant land to the peasants in conformity with the law approved in parliament which, though imperfect, will be applied strictly and completely. It has been said time and again that the law will be modified. I guarantee you that the law will be applied strictly, even in cases of distributing entire farms. This law has found great support not only among the peasantry, but also with the international institutions that have analyzed and assessed it. The decision to privatize farms gives property to thousands of additional families, thus significantly widening the base of the reform, making them happy, and creating great security for their future.

Seen realistically, our concentration on agriculture is correct because it solves not only the great problem faced by two-thirds of the population, but ensures the absolute success of the agriculture reform, increases agricultural and general production, reduces inflation, increases exports, and encourages confidence in the reform. Thus, as they are equal before God, the peasants will become equal before the law and take the land belonging to them. They and their children will enjoy their own piece of land. In this process, every parcel of land, every olive tree, nut tree, or vine will have its own master from now on.

Through this privatization, we remove thousands of workers from the social assistance list, because by giving land to them we resolve their need to depend on social assistance. At the same time, we will help thousands of urban families which, because of their connections with farms near the city, will profit in some fashion through the receipt of land, olive trees, vineyards, fruit trees, etc. This will bring undeniable relief to our city as well.

The decision to grant land to all former agricultural cadres is of special importance. The importance of this lies first of all in that by giving land to them, we get them off of social assistance and destroy the feeling of future

insecurity among these intellectuals, their children, and families. The greatest priority of this decision, however, is in applying modern, scientific thinking to thousands of plots of land and transforming them into laboratories of scientific experimentation. Neglected and trampled underfoot by the chairman or brigadier until recently, the agriculture intellectuals will now have the opportunity to demonstrate and improve their scientific knowledge by creating model farms, positive examples for their neighbors. I am convinced that with their intellectual potential, they will give a strong impetus to the development of our free agriculture. In this case, we should consider that in order to play this role, these intellectuals should be given priority assistance with every technical and financial resource possible.

Rapid and strict privatization of our farms is a great test for the local and central governments, public order institutions, elected officials, and everyone else. I am convinced, however, that we will achieve this rapidly and successfully.

On Human Rights

AU1811085992 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 30 Oct 92 p 1

[Speech by President Sali Berisha to the People's Assembly on 29 October: "Defense and Respect for Human Rights—A Permanent Concern for All"]

[Text] Honorable deputies: I have been regularly informed about the People's Assembly proceedings and I am pleased to understand that all the deputies concerned approve such laws as they lay the basis of our democratic institutions. You restructured the People's Assembly commissions recently and I am convinced that the new structure of these commissions will enable the People's Assembly and its deputies to successfully carry out their noble duty. Upon agreeing with the chairmen of the parliamentary groups, on this occasion I would like you to allow me, through this message, to propose the setting up of a commission or group for the defense of human rights, composed of deputies from various parliamentary groups, alongside the Assembly.

Everyone of us is conscious that when we started our fight for democracy, our main goal was to assure the freedom of the individual in a free and democratic society. Of course, great results have been achieved in this field. The Albanian citizens currently enjoy every basic freedom and right of the individual, such as freedom of thought and expression, of meeting and organization, of belief, and of property. Thus, the government functions in accordance with the constitutional law at all levels; the independence of the courts and minority rights are guaranteed in Albania. All of these achievements are highly valued by the Albanian citizens. At the same time the whole democratic international public has welcomed these results. I think that not only in the postdictatorial society, in which democracy should be developed and simultaneously trained, but also in countries with democratic traditions, the protection of and respect for human rights are, and should continue to be a constant concern of citizens, parliament, government, president, etc. For my part, I guarantee you that now and in the future I will use all my prerogatives to place respect for the international documents in this field, such as the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter, the Copenhagen Document, etc., at the center of the attention of the new Albanian democratic state, so that the Albanian citizens and minorities enjoy every right and freedom pertaining to them in accordance with these important documents.

Hoping that my suggestion will be considered, I wish you success in your noble duty.

Respectfully,

Sali Berisha, president of the republic.

Ganev: Latest UN Sanctions To Be Implemented

AU1911094192 Sofia BTA in English 2140 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—The Ministry of Trade today suspended the registration of export transactions in metals, coal, chemicals and other strategic raw materials as an extension of the measure taken two days ago to suspend the registration of export licences for diesel fuel, petrol and fuel oil destined for Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia, and Croatia.

The press has been reporting that motor cars with Macedonian, Bosnian, Serbian and other licences are pumping petrol from Greek tanker trucks near Petrich (southwestern Bulgaria). As from yesterday, residents of the area are limited to the purchase of 15 litres of car engine fuel a day against coupons. In this way, the local authorities hope to stem the illicit export of petrol to former Yugoslavia.

The Petroleum Company, Bulgaria's major retailer of petroleum products, yesterday introduced a special schedule for the supply of filling stations, citing a shortage of tanker trucks. This statement was denied today to the BTA by Mr. Evtim Tsintsarski, chief of the Neftokhim Oil Refinery which is the Petroleum Company's principal supplier. In his view, the reason is in the fewer orders for delivery. Fifty tanker trucks leave Neftokhim daily to supply the home market, Mr. Tsintsarski said. There are some 6,000 tonnes of petrol stored in the refinery now, according to him.

In a telephone interview from New York for national television this evening, the president of the 47th session of the UN General Assembly and foreign minister of Bulgaria Stoyan Ganev said that the Foreign Ministry had compiled a report on the implementation of the Security Council resolution tightening sanctions against Serbia. According to Mr. Ganev, Bulgaria will soon take specific action to implement the resolution.

Ganev Raises Danube Tolls Issue With Djukic

AU1811210692 Sofia BTA in English 2042 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] New York, November 18 (BTA)—The president of the 47th session of the UN General Assembly Stoyan Ganev, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, conferred in New York with the minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Ilija Djukic, BTA learnt from a Foreign Ministry spokesman. The two chief diplomats discussed matters concerning UN activities and bilateral relations. Mr. Djukic set forth his country's position on a relaxation of the Security Council sanctions, on the presence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the UN General Assembly and on a provision of humanitarian assistance for that country.

Mr. Ganev said that he would like Yugoslavia to find its place in the General Assembly of the world body, which in practice implies finding political solutions to all problems arising from the matter.

Mr. Ganev stressed that a review of the treatment of the Bulgarian minority in Serbia would contribute considerably to a further development of bilateral relations. He stressed that the competent Serbian authorities and the representatives of the Bulgarian minority should meet to discuss a solution to the latter's problems.

Mr. Ganev raised sharply the question of the transit dues which the Yugoslav authorities collect from Bulgarian ships on the River Danube and expressed the hope that this problem will be settled shortly.

UN Narcotics Experts Warn of Legislative Defects

AU1811213092 Sofia BTA in English 2101 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—Mr. Bernard Leroi of the UN Programme for International Narcotics Control told BTA this evening that in the 1980's Bulgaria sold in African countries considerable quantities of amphetaminized aspirin called Sekou Toure after the late president of Guinea.

Mr. Leroi and his colleague Jean-Francois Toni arrived in Bulgaria today at the invitation of the Bulgarian National Narcotics Service headed by Aleksandrina Noncheva.

The guests met with Deputy Justice Minister Petur Stoyanov and after the session Mr. Leroi elaborated for BTA on the UN view of Bulgaria in connection with the production and traffic in narcotics.

Mr. Leroi listed three risks which have to be nipped in the bud. These are a possible growing of opium poppy, heroin trafficking and the dirty money which the Italian Mafia, the Colombian drug cartel and other international criminal syndicates may invest in Bulgaria for development of its economy.

"These risks threaten you because you have no legislation against such operations and the Bulgarian authorities must take immediate action to draft such legislation," Mr. Leroi said. He added that the United Nations regards Bulgaria as a priority state in the drive against illicit drugs.

Deputy Justice Minister Petur Stoyanov said that Bulgaria has signed and ratified the UN Convention Against Illicit Trafficking of Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, which will enter into force at the end of this year, and the Council of Europe Convention Against Money Laundering.

Mr. Stoyanov added that the effective criminal legislation provides rather few, scattered and ineffective sanctions against such offences, but the draft of the new penal code contains a separate chapter which is modelled on

the best from world and European legislation for combating the production and distribution of narcotics.

For her part, Mrs. Noncheva said that the mission of the UN Programme for International Narcotics Control is timely and useful for Bulgaria as this country is now drafting narcotics control legislation, which should take into account the new situation in Bulgaria and should be harmonized with similar legislation in the rest of Europe.

Minister on Air Traffic Deal With Swiss Firm

AU1711195092 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—Prince Philipp von Liechtenstein and Mr. Fred Pischl, manager of the Swiss Company ATS Lease Management Inc., who yesterday arrived on a business visit here, today met with the Minister of Transport Aleksandur Aleksandrov and officials of the Civil Aviation and the Air Force.

At a meeting at the Transport Ministry, Mr. Pischl presented an air traffic management improvement scheme. 50 million U.S. dollars will be equally distributed between Bulgaria's Civil Aviation and Air Force. The talks are focussing on the idea of Bulgaria's joining the European Air Transport Harmonization Programme and the recommendations of the International Civil Aviation Organization, said Mr. Aleksandrov.

Prince Philipp expressed the conviction that the present talks are mutually beneficial and in keeping with the declaration on Bulgaria's joining the European Transport Harmonization Programme signed in London this past April.

Tomorrow the sides are expected to sign a joint memorandum.

Parliament Chairman Receives Russian Ambassador

AU1811080792 Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov today received Russian Ambassador to Bulgaria Aleksandr Avdeyev. Mr. Avdeyev congratulated him on his election to the post on behalf of the chairman of Russia's Supreme Council, Ruslan Khasbulatov. The Russian ambassador confirmed the invitation for Bulgarian MP's [members of parliament] to visit Russia. The National Assembly Press Office quotes Mr. Yordanov as saying the visit may take place next February. The sides discussed developments in Bulgaria and Russia and the promotion of contacts between their parliaments. Mr. Yordanov stressed the need to exchange information between the two law-making bodies. He discussed the prospects for economic cooperation, emphasizing the need for political stability. The Russian ambassador said his country would meet all its obligations on contracts with Bulgaria.

Ministry Extends Export Ban to Ex-Yugoslavia

AU1811182292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] The Ministry of Trade reports that in addition to suspending the registration of expert certificates [as heard] for diesel fuel, gasoline, and heavy fuel oil exported to Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia, and Croatia, which the Foreign Trade Licensing Department of the Ministry of Trade introduced as a speedy first measure on 16 November, as of 18 November the department has also stopped the registration of deals in metals, coal, chemicals, and other strategically important materials.

General Staff Issues Communique on Edirne Document

AU1811192292 Sofia BTA in English 1615 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Sofia, November 18 (BTA)—The document signed in Edirne on November 12 between the General Staffs of the Bulgarian and the Turkish Armies is an extension of the 1991 Sofia document and is intended to build Balkan confidence and security, Chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Army Colonel General Lyuben Petrov told a news conference today.

General Petrov met with the chief of General Staff of the Republic of Turkey General Dogan Gures in Khaskovo (south central Bulgaria) on November 11. They discussed the implementation of the 1991 Sofia document, says a joint communique of the General Staffs of the Bulgarian and the Turkish Armies circulated today. The sides expressed a shared opinion of the need for extra measures to strengthen military contacts between the Armies and discussed the draft of the new document which was signed in Edirne on the following day.

Three groups of problems are treated in the Edirne document: confidence and security building in the areas adjacent to their common border; increase of the volume of military information; and promotion of military contacts.

The parties will notify each other in advance of their military activities in the borderland area whenever they involve at least 7,000 troops, or at least 150 battle tanks, or at least 150 artillery pieces of 100 mm calibre, the document says. The parties undertake to invite observers from each other to notifiable military activities whenever the forces engaged meet or exceed 10,000 troops, 200 battle tanks or 200 artillery pieces. The document determines the cases in which the General Staffs will exchange information on the redeployment of military units. A fax connection will function on a 24-hour-basis for prompt exchange of information between the two Armies.

The measures adopted in the Edirne document will come into force on January 1, 1993. Within one year after that

date, representatives of the Bulgarian and Turkish Armies will meet to discuss the implementation of these measures.

The General Staffs say in their communique that the Edirne document will contribute to the promotion of bilateral relations and will demonstrate the resolve of Bulgaria and Turkey to build confidence in the Balkans and Europe.

Dimitrov, Dogan Talk; Progress Reported

AU1711190992 Sofia BTA in English 1737 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—Consultations on the formation of a new Bulgarian Government are going on. It will probably be a coalition cabinet of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS).

Filip Dimitrov, who was assigned to name a government, and DPS leader Ahmed Dogan held a 45-minute meeting today. They told BTA the consultations had been successful so far and Filip Dimitrov would present to parliament the new cabinet team on Thursday, November 19, when the seven-day term provided in the Constitution expires, but declined to give details about the meeting.

Filip Dimitrov told BTA the DPS leaders "did not object" to the new cabinet's programme. Mr. Dimitrov added there were "solid grounds for the formation of a coalition government with the DPS." However, he stressed again that the SDS would stick to the main principles of its policy.

Ahmed Dogan said today's meeting was a routine technological stage of the formation of the new cabinet. Osman Oktay of the DPS, who also attended the meeting, told BTA it had helped him take an optimistic view.

Asked about the problems with the consultations, Ahmed Dogan said the major issue was to strike a balance on the question of the so-called enforcement ministries. "From a general point of view, each ministry could be seen as an enforcement ministry," Dogan said. He did not specify what he meant by referring to "several ministries with special functions." Ahmed Dogan said the SDS's demand that the intelligence service become subordinated to the government had not been discussed yet.

The SDS and the DPS parliamentary groups held meetings in the afternoon. Filip Dimitrov and Ahmed Dogan are scheduled to meet this evening.

Disagreement on Intelligence Service Control

AU1811080092 Sofia BTA in English 2204 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Iva Toncheva report: "Filip Dimitrov and Ahmed Dogan Continue Consultations on New Cabinet"]

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—At their consultations tonight Prime Minister-designate Filip Dimitrov and the leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), Ahmed Dogan, failed to reach agreement on the demand of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) for transferring control over the Intelligence Service from the president to the government. The SDS wishes to protect the new cabinet against unfair criticism and insists that all special services be gradually placed under the control of the government.

Dwelling on the Intelligence Service issue, Filip Dimitrov said that there were some differences in the stands of the DPS and the SDS while Ahmed Dogan was categorical that the DPS does not accept this demand of the SDS. "Additional possibilities and patterns will be sought for solving this problem," Mr. Dogan said. His main argument was that parliament should decide this issue. The consultations will continue tomorrow. MP's [members of parliament] of the SDS and the DPS are divided in their opinions on whether the consultations between Mr. Dimitrov and Mr. Dogan will be completed successfully within the term fixed by the constitution which expires on Thursday [19 November] evening.

On the whole the SDS and the DPS will reach agreement on the other demands of the SDS. According to Filip Dimitrov, the SDS and the DPS have ironed out their differences on the programme of the new cabinet. Mr. Dogan did not deny this. The DPS has accepted the demand of the SDS for guaranteeing the implementation of the conditions set by the international financial institutions and has agreed not to admit revisions of the principles of the economic reform implemented so far. The DPS insists on maintaining constructive dialogue with the trade unions, the DPS leader said.

In a statement for the press Ahmed Dogan made it clear that no agreement has been reached on the so-called enforcement ministries and added the Ministry of Justice to this group. He said that the DPS can propose candidates of the extraparliamentary forces and nonparty members for these posts.

On Thursday Filip Dimitrov will have to be ready with the formation of his cabinet. He will inform the president of the success or failure of his task and the president will propose to parliament to vote on the new cabinet which will be followed by the presentation of the cabinet team by Filip Dimitrov. These procedural specifications were made by Filip Dimitrov himself before journalists.

Moravcik on Reaction To Split at CSCE Meeting

LD1811155092 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1122 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Interview with Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik by unidentified correspondent on 18 November; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] The prime minister and ministers of the Federal Government are present at the session today. We talked to one of them—Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik—when he returned from Stockholm, where he attended a CSCE troika session. We asked him what was their reaction to the present situation in our country, specifically to the possible outcome of today's session in the Federal Assembly.

[Moravcik] The world is following very attentively—and this was confirmed yet again this time—the situation in our country, because it is very important from the point of view of stability in Central Europe and the stability in Europe in general. Thus, they listened with great interest to the analysis of the situation presented by us. We have informed our partners objectively. We have told them what the alternatives are, what the possible consequences could be if the Federal Assembly does not pass the law on ending the Federation, what the further development would be, and at the same time we presented to them our vision of how the two republics should become CSCE members.

This vision is based on the fact that, at the next session of Council of Ministers in Stockholm on 14-15 December, both republics would request—as we presented in a draft declaration—from the Council of Ministers that they be admitted with the provision that the membership of the two republics would come into force after the end of the federation, that is on 1 January 1993.

[Correspondent] What was the reaction of member countries, do you know this yet?

[Moravcik] We have consulted on this at the level of another very important body within the CSCE, that is with the senior officials committee; and this committee received our vision positively from a majority of CSCE member states, it was also supported by EC state.

[Correspondent] A majority does not mean all, does it?

[Moravcik] Yes, there were two countries that voiced reservations against such a procedure. These were Liechtenstein and Hungary.

[Correspondent] We do know the reasons of the Hungarian side, but why Liechtenstein?

[Moravcik] In the case of Liechtenstein, there is the property claims issue; this concerns several castles, which are above all on the territory of the Czech Republic, and which represent the cultural heritage of the Czech Republic.

[Correspondent] What would be the reaction of CSCE, Minister, if this constitutional law is not passed, as the voting intentions so far indicate a very close outcome—more toward not passing?

[Moravcik] Well, this is only speculation now before the vote, but let us say: this would make the situation of our diplomacy very difficult. We would have to explain, and we have, in fact, started doing so, that there are other constitutional ways and one such a constitutional way—at least we see it as constitutional—is an agreement between republics, between National Councils on the dissolution of the Federation. This proceeds from one fact—as the constitutional law on Czechoslovak Federation contains a clause that the federation is created from the will of both republics, thus we can assume that it can also end from the will of both republics.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that there would not be any difficulties or obstacles for the two new subjects joining the CSCE?

[Moravcik] I cannot guess, but I believe that we could be able to explain this. [passage omitted]

Parliament Postpones Talk on Joint Agreements

LD1811153292 Prague CSTK in English 1359 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 18 (CSTK)—The Presidium of the Czech Parliament today decided to change the agenda of the Parliament's 7th session, which is due to open November 19, and not to include in it the draft treaties and agreements between the Czech and Slovak Republics, the Czech Parliament Deputy Chairman Jan Kasal told CSTK.

The treaties and agreements, which have been approved at the two republics governments' meetings at Javorina, north Slovakia, October 26, and Zidlochovice, South Moravia, November 9, should be discussed by the Czech Parliament on Tuesday, November 24. We want the republic governments to be given time to settle some technical matters linked to the agreement, Kasal said.

He explained that one half of the documents should not be called treaties and the other agreements and that the date of the documents becoming valid should be the same for all of them. Part of the drafts give December 31, 1992, as the begining of their validity, while the rest speaks about January 1, 1993.

Under an accord between the Czech and Slovak Parliaments, they will begin to discuss the agreements on the same day, Kasal said. Having been disapproved by the committee for legal protection and security, the treaty on settling the legal effects of the creation of two independent states in the field of personal identity documents, passports, driving licences, registration of cars, weapons

and ammunition have not been included in the parliament's agenda to date. The committee rejected the treaty proposal for the fire-arms licences, issued by federal bodies to Czech and Slovak citizens, to be valid for the next five years on both republics' territories.

The governments should complete the treaty so that it can be approved by the committee and afterwards adopted by the whole parliament, Kasal said. The Czech Parliament's 6th meeting continued today by a secret election of the Council of the Czech Supreme Bureau of Inspection.

Klaus Address on Federation Termination Bill

LD1811183692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1640 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Address by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus during a debate on a bill on the termination of the Federation held in the Federal Assembly building in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed Federal Assembly, I think that almost everything has been said, and to start bickering over quotes, as we heard just now [previous speakers argued over whether a certain quote was from Marx or Hegel], is certainly not dignified in this parliament at this particular moment, because who opens such debates probably is not aware of the seriousness of today's issue. And I think we should remember that.

Today everybody boasts of the force of his voice, of the force of the mandate he has. I, as a Federal Assembly deputy, will also, if you permit, say a few words. I would like to mention my mandate, which I feel is somewhat different—at least from two aspects. I think I was the election candidate who received by far the greatest number of voters' preferences, more than any other person sitting in this room. That, unfortunately, is the truth, I must say. [applause]

The second mandate I would like to stress here is that I was probably the only politician who, before the June elections this year, appeared in both parts of this Federation and spoke before these elections not only in the Czech Republic, where I tried to defend the common state, but at dozens of rallies and meetings when I also addressed Slovak citizens in Slovakia. I think this is a special mandate that I have. There, I tried to defend the common state with all my might.

I think that this is a significant thing, which I can say here. It is necessary to say what the reality is in this country. I am afraid that some of those present here do not want to take this into account. They do not want to ask the question of whether today we are or are not a common state. They do not want to ask the question of whether we are a common state in actual fact or only in form. I, alas, must answer these questions, no, we are not a common state and if so, then only in form. And as for the Munich question raised by Mr. Svitak [Deputy Svitak of the Left Bloc warned of German expansion and the threat of a second Munich Agreement], that is not something that just popped up today, 18 November 1992.

The break-up of the common state was experienced by all of us in this country during the last three years. Many of us remember the infamous beginning of these debates at this very place—the debate of the hyphen [in Czech-Slovak], which for the first time alarmed those of us who wanted to remain in a common state. We remember the voluminous debate on the law on the division of powers of autumn 1990. We remember a whole number of other things, the everyday disputes over powers, which we, who worked in the administration, experienced. We remember this year's elections.

So this state is not a body behaving in a united way, a body with a united mind, and it is really a state where there is a lack of the common will to make it a common state.

Reflections over how a referendum could help are childish, false, wicked, and also none of those who propose them can take them seriously, and neither do they take them seriously. Notice those gentlemen, those deputies, who propose the idea of a referendum. Notice the tone of their voices when they speak about it. They are not convincing voices. They do not believe in it themselves. They are just having a go—shooting into the air, but inside they do not believe in the idea and do not...[loud applause]

They themselves do not believe that a referendum could change the reality of this country. For us, the last three years has been one enormous referendum, which Unfortunately decided that our common state should end. But absolutely nothing can be changed by a small-scale and short referendum on paper. All responsible people know that in the absence of the will for a common state, immediately the first moment after the referendum has ended, we would find ourselves in exactly the same situation in which we are today. This state would become unmanageable, uncontrollable; it would become chaotic; it would drag us down and would draw us too close to that which can be observed in the Balkans. [applause]

There is a one and only conclusion that must ensue from all of this for all of us, all responsible people in this hall—unfortunately there are quite a lot of irresponsible ones [applause]—while the internationalist Comrade Svitak is brandishing the concept of national interest, then the national interest is indeed, quite different. Our national interest is to ensure a peaceful development in our country, free of chaos, free of the agony of a nonfunctioning state.

Mr. Minister Dyba [previous speaker, Czech Minister of Economy] spoke here in detail about the costs of the division of the state, which should be balanced against the costs of the nondivision of the state, the costs related to the continuing failure of this country to function. I am convinced that the coexistence between Czechs and Slovaks is not coming to an end, that a new quality is

being imparted to it at this moment. I do not fear that relations between Czechs and Slovaks will be worse in the future than those in the last three years. On the contrary, I am convinced that these relations will be definitely better and that a series of agreements, which are being drafted by the Czech Government and the Czech Republic, will become a guarantee that the relations will be exceptionally good, that they will be of exceptionally good quality, and that these relations will be special and different from those with other countries.

I therefore feel that, given the responsibility borne by this body, it is necessary that we should vote in favor of the bill on the termination of the federation. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Federal Assembly Rejects Law on Federation Split

LD1811220492 Prague CSTK in English 2112 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 18 (CSTK)—Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly (Parliament) this evening failed to approve government-submitted legislation on the termination of the Czechoslovak Federation, which is scheduled to divide into two independent states on January 1.

The bill came to a vote at 9:30 pm after nearly 12 hours of debate, including two breaks—the first from 7:00 to 8:30 pm, the second from 8:45 to 9:15 pm. The proposal received the required majority in the House of the People and the Czech half of the House of Nations, but it fell short in the Slovak half of the House of Nations, receiving 42 yes votes from the 71 deputies present. Forty-six of the 73 deputies present voted in favour in the Czech half of the 150-member House of Nations, and 100 of the 144 representatives present voted yes in the 150-member House of the People.

Following the vote, parliament elected a 12-member arbitration committee, charged with finding a compromise that would guarantee the bill's passage. The committee will hold its first meeting tonight.

Earlier, in votes on individually proposed amendments to the law, federal deputies rejected the CSSD-KDH-SDSS [Czechoslovak Social Democracy-Christian Democratic Movement-Social Democratic Party in Slovakia] proposal for a referendum on the split of the federation.

The Federal Assembly adjourned until next Tuesday [24 November].

Strasky Discusses Federal Property Division

AU1911112292 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Nov 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky by Jana Havligerova; place and date not given: "Stronger Motivation for the Creation of Something New"]

[Text] Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky thinks the situation in the state is characterized by the fact that much more has been done for the creation of the new republics than for dissolving the CSFR. Following a meeting of the Joint Commission For the Division of CSFR Property in Bratislava, we asked him to assess the situation in the Federation.

[Strasky] I do not just mean the ultimate step, this embodies a constitutional decision, but also the delays in dividing property and the other issues associated with it, for example, negotiating a series of treaties and so on. In short, much more has been done for the preparation of the new states—which is in the hands of the republic governments. This activity is, plainly, better motivated than the steps leading to the state's breakup, where motivation is lacking or is so dissipated that it does not lead to positive decisions.

[Havligerova] One crucial step, however, is behind us. The Federal Assembly has approved a law on dividing the Federation's property.

[Strasky] I would not overestimate the adoption of this law. The law is formulated in such a way—and after the changes made to it in the Federal Assembly, this is even more telling—that it leaves aside complicated problems until an agreement is reached. Of course, it is auspicious that we agreed on the fundamental principles—real estate in the individual republics will remain in the republics and the rest will be divided at a ratio of 2:1. Major problems remain, however. Therefore, we immediately—in fact, a couple of hours after the law was adopted—arranged a meeting of the two national governments' commissions to clarify straightaway, let us say, the system for and organization of the work of the group preparing the agreement. After many hours of negotiation, it was apparent that this is a viable course of action. The individual subcommissions will be appointed shortly. They have to deal with elementary things that have already been dragging on for some time and renew faith in the figures involved in division. There will be approximately 30 of them, virtually one for every individual bloc of federal property represented by a single federal office. At the same time, a commission of experts will start work and will draw up the first draft agreement, albeit with options.

[Havligerova] Does this mean that doubts are still being cast on the figures submitted along with the law? And something else—during the negotiations between the Civic Democratic Party and the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia, the word "magnanimity" was mentioned several times....

[Strasky] In connection with the surveys we supplied, if I do not want to say doubt has been cast on them directly, then the word "confidence" is not appropriate. Magnanimity is something the parties have endowed themselves with, but it is not so simple to commute this

to the individual government officials participating in specific talks on how to divide, for instance, the Federal Office for Patents.

Certainly, if a lack of magnanimity were to manifest itself in certain pedantic attempts to reappraise and reitemize everything, we would have to turn to the political representatives. This is not because we would want to avoid precise methods, but because of the time the bargaining would take.

[Havligerova] Which are the most burning issues and where is the most prolonged bargaining expected?

[Strasky] We have discussed the subcommissions that should verify the figures relating to the individual federal bodies. We did not stop here, however. In Bratislava we signed an agreement that these commissions will carry out division by 30 November. A commission of experts appointed by the two sides should—at the same time—attempt to draw up a draft treaty, for which the Federal Government has prepared the blueprint. This is an echo of the adopted law. We will strive to ensure that an agreement is reached by the end of this week so it can be submitted to the national governments' Presidiums on Monday [23 November]. I am under no illusion that its final version will be drafted in this short period, but I am convinced that it is possible to submit a definite number of options for resolving certain issues. These concern, first and foremost, the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Bank [CSOB] and its work, that is, the government credits and other outstanding claims and liabilities that relate to the state. Naturally, the CSOB's future status as such is a separate problem. Following our talks in Bratislava, I expect opinions will—obviously—be mixed. The federal economic organizations form another set of problems. In my opinion, the Slovak side is placing too much emphasis on the fact that we will have to proceed separately in individual enterprises or—to put it differently—that there will be numerous exceptions from the law as it was approved. A third set of problems is formed by the property associated with the Czechoslovak State Bank and involves various financial reserves, gold, and so on.

[Havligerova] What lies at the core of the dispute over the CSOB?

[Strasky] The subject of the dispute involves a fundamental issue—which will have to be resolved by an agreement—that is, whether we will actually divide the individual state and government credits or whether we will divide them internally and entrust someone else with administering them. This is one of the important alternatives on which we will hold talks. Of course, I would be pleased if these talks were to take into consideration—first and foremost—the pragmatic consequences, that is, what we will lose out less on.

[Havligerova] The agreement on the entities referred to directly in the law—the Transit gas pipeline, Czechoslovak Airlines, Cechofracht, and others—should also take this into consideration.

[Strasky] The Slovak side has the idea that in certain cases the law would not be to its benefit, sometimes issues are involved that even the Czech side acknowledges. For example, the Transit gas pipeline, where mechanical division in accordance with the law would not be appropriate, because we intend to establish a supranational company that would involve more than just Czech and Slovak capital. Of course, the extent to which we will want to intervene in the current Transpetrol organization—which is, in fact, at variance with the legal status quo—is connected with this. As far as Cechofracht is concerned, I have discovered that a certain number of associate offices abroad lie behind the Slovak side's argument here, which leads to greater circumspection in dealing with this issue. Because the law does not in fact define the number of cases the agreement should resolve, I hope we will manage to be magnanimous and specify their definitive number. This will be the most dramatic development of the talks, which should begin today. Our talks in Bratislava were general, and we did not come to any conclusions.

[Havligerova] The Czechoslovak State Bank will not be a problem?

[Strasky] The only question here is whether two banks of issue will be prepared as of 1 January and whether division will take place. Issues arising from the agreed—and rather debatable—system for further implementing monetary decisions are also involved. However, despite the fact that the State Bank is not a very clear-cut institution (especially for the layman), I do not think it will be such a stormy issue, obviously with the exception of the discussion on gold.

[Havligerova] In essence, we have come to the mechanism for resolving the disputes. Do you think the course of action you decided upon in Bratislava is sufficient?

[Strasky] Here—I would say—decisions relating to the governments merge with political decisions. We do not conceal the fact that we realize the prime ministers are also the chairmen of those political forces significantly influencing the formation of the new states and, therefore, the state's breakup and all the procedures associated with this. In this sense, the fact that the prime ministers are the second competent "appeal" authority could be a favorable solution. On the other hand, I would be very pleased if the third (an independent group of experts) and fourth (the international court in The Hague) competent authorities are utilized only exceptionally, and preferably not at all. I do not think federal property is worth this.

Implications of Central Bank's Demise Viewed

AU1811141692 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Nov 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Marcela Doleckova: "Run on Foreign Exchange Is Not Taking Place; The Present and Future of the Central Bank"]

[Text] The talks of the Monetary Committee set up within the framework of the Czech-Slovak Agreement on the Monetary Arrangement can become complicated, particularly in view of the fact that, on the basis of a political decision, the committee is composed on the parity principle rather than according to the weight of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, as proposed by the Czechoslovak State Bank [SBCS]. Nonetheless, the Czech side will not dare jeopardize the stability of the currency and, should such as danger be imminent, it would serve as an impulse to divide the currencies. This view was expressed by SBCS Governor Josef Tosovsky at a news conference held late last week to explain the SBCS's position in the face of the partition of the state.

With certain modifications, the division of the SBCS should "fit into" the prepared law on the division of federal property. The SBCS balance sheet is now in the range of approximately 360 billion korunas but its accounts are in constant motion. The situation is such that, so far, the SBCS has been crediting Slovak banks more than Czech banks and the same trend has been apparent also with regard to the budgets. This can, however, change by "D [illegible]y"—31 December 1992—although the developme[illegible] thus far does not suggest that. This fact should, however, be taken into account when dividing the bank and a certain compensation should be accorded to the appropriate side.

The agreement on dividing the SBCS must also provide an answer to all questions connected with the Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka [Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Bank] (CSOB). A proposal for these answers has already been approved by the Financial Council (details on its session were published by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on 20 October). The governor said that an agreement has been prepared, under which the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Finance would take over, as of 1 January 1993, the CSOB's liabilities in convertible currencies (the bank is constantly repaying them and currently they stand at around 65 billion korunas) as well its assets in nonconvertible currencies (made up of approximately 71 billion korunas worth of credits, the recoverability of which is questionable, extended under the previous regime to various countries). This would settle the CSOB's balance.

This year 12 billion korunas will be appropriated from the federal budget to cover the cost of interest rates and burdens stemming from the devaluation of the koruna in 1990, with the SBCS contributing an additional 2.4 billion korunas. Asked by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY how the budget would cope with those unplanned expenditures, the governor declared that the Czech budget has so far been developing more favorably than expected and the Slovak budget as expected. As a consequence of new expenditures, the closing account of the federal budget cannot be responsibly estimated. Yet even its deficit should be divided according to the 2:1 ratio.

A bill on the Czech National Bank, which essentially corresponds to the law on the SBCS, was submitted to the Czech Government late last week. A bill on the Slovak National Bank has been drafted, which does not significantly differ from the bill on the Czech National Bank. In the period of transition, in which there will be two central banks and one currency, the supplement to the agreement on the monetary arrangement (which caused so much needless confusion in the Czech National Council) will be used. As soon as the divergence of monetary or, as the case may be, economic policies becomes evident, the currency will be split. The governor declared that the run on foreign exchange reserves that is being prognosticated from time to time is not taking place, even though foreign exchange reserves have been declining since late summer. The governor attributes the decline to the development of foreign trade (the growth rate of exports has slowed down and the growth rate of imports has increased, which could also be a sign of recovery) and to the slight firming of the dollar (which resulted in a drop of the nominal value of the reserves because these are not held only in dollars but also in other currencies). In conjunction with a possible run by Slovak enterprises on foreign exchange reserves (in expectation of the currency's division and a subsequent devaluation of the Slovak koruna), the governor said that, even if such speculative purchases of foreign exchange occurred, their scale is limited by enterprises' koruna accounts. Within the framework of the valid internal convertibility of the Czechoslovak koruna, if enterprises do not have korunas they have nothing for which to purchase hard currency.

The governor said, furthermore, that, in the event of two separate currencies, he naturally also reckons with the division of convertibility and added that the Czech koruna would undoubtedly continue to be pegged to a basket of convertible currencies, even though the composition of this basket may become simpler. The foreign exchange law, once it is transferred to the two states, will provide for a softer regime for Czechs living in Slovakia and vice versa.

As for the international legal implications of the termination of the SBCS's existence, the governor said that the case of default concerns one $200 million and one $70 million Eurobond issue (when the issuer of a bond ceases to exist, bond holders have the right to immediate collection). The SBCS proposes to hold a meeting of creditors before the SBCS ceases to exist where it would submit the proposal that the role of debtor will be taken over by the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Finance. It is not yet clear from the legal viewpoint whether the same procedure can also be applied in the case of bonds issued by the CSOB (two bond issue of 350 million German marks each are at stake). Nonetheless, the SBCS, which is the guarantor of these bond issues, intends to extend to the creditors the same proposal.

Party Officials View Right-Wing Fragmentation

AU1911145992 Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech 17 Nov 92 p 3

[CSTK report: "Right-Wing Microparties"]

[Text] Bratislava—According to L. Brniar, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party (DS), the integration of the right-wing political parties in Slovakia has failed.

He made this statement at a news conference in Bratislava, and went on to say that personal ambitions of some politicians—which, according to him, are reflected in the resolution adopted at the republic assembly of the Civic Democratic Union on 14 November that violates the integration agreement with the Democratic Party—finalized the formation process of the "right-wing microparties," which, according to him, have no chance of political survival.

The right-wing oriented DS is also, according to its chairman, P. Matos, viable only if it can pay its debts. According to Martin Kvetko, honorary chairman of the DS, however, the party that is to be founded by J. Langos, P. Tatar, and other leading representatives of the Civic Democratic Union will not be trustworthy enough for the DS. Nevertheless, the integration of the Slovak right-wing parties is of primary importance, Peter Matos added.

LSU Favors Direct Czech President Elections

AU1911132392 Prague CSTK in English 1532 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 16 (CSTK) — The view of the Liberal Social Union (LSU) on the government draft Czech Constitution, submitted to the Czech Parliament last week, is roughly identical with that of former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, Pavel Hirs from the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS) said today.

Speaking to journalists not only for his party, but also for the opposition LSU, which is formed by the CSS, the Agrarian Party and the Greens Party, Hirs repeated that Havel is not considered the optimal candidate for the post of the Czech President, but the LSU can see no other up to date. The CSS will discuss the issue on Tuesday, Hirs added.

He considers possible the "French way" for the first presidential election, which is being proposed by Havel's advisers, and which provides for the president to be elected by the Lower House and electors chosen from district assemblies of mayors. The proposal would make it possible to elect the Czech president as early as of January 1, 1993, when the Czechoslovak federation is to split, Hirs added.

The LSU considers it important for the independent Czech state to have a constitution and all constitutional institutions just at the moment of its birth, as it would be hardly possible for it to gain other countries' recognition without them, Hirs added.

Antall, Havel on Views on Central-Eastern Europe

LD1611203192 Budapest MTI in English 1754 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—Vital for Hungary is holding the Visegrad Group together, even after the Czechoslovak federal state splits, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said on Monday [16 November], when he met former Czechoslovak president Vaclav Havel. Havel is on a one-day private visit to Budapest.

They briefed each other about their countries, and exchanged views on the processes taking place in the Central-Eastern European region, and their relations towards the European Community.

Antall said his government expects problem-free cooperation with the future Czech republic. However, he said he considers it extremely important for Bohemia and Slovakia, as the successor states, to accept the obligations undertaken by the predecessor Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and to adhere to these in a correct manner. "For us, this mainly touches on the London agreement to settle the Gabcikovo power plant dispute," Antall said.

Ministry Denies Intent To Buy German Weapons

LD1811193892 Budapest MTI in English 1656 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—In the wake of controversial Hungarian press reports over the past few days on German military spare parts deliveries to Hungary, the Hungarian Defence Ministry on Wednesday denied the allegation Hungary wants to buy complete weapons and armaments from Germany.

A communique, issued after the past days German-Hungarian defence talks and confirming the ministry's stance on the issue, says the Hungarian public is aware of the state of Hungarian Army technical equipment and of the lack of spare parts necessary for its operation. For this reason, the Hungarian defence leadership last year proposed to obtain spare parts and supplementary material from the stocks of the former East German Army.

As the Defence Ministry leadership has publicly confirmed several times recently, it does not want to obtain weapons and armaments from Germany. The supposition about Hungary to exchange its worn-out weapons for complete usable German arms is also groundless, as such a step would run counter to both countries' interests.

During the talks between German Defence State Secretary Bernd Wilz and Hungarian officials over the past few days, the sides held identical views on the discussed issues, including that of spare parts deliveries. Any statement counter to the above fail to reflect either the German or the Hungarian stance.

After talks with Wilz on Tuesday [17 November], Hungarian Parliament Defence Committee Chairman Gyorgy Balogh said at the talks he had proposed Germany should deliver to Hungary military equipment of Soviet origin that would otherwise go to the blast-furnace. In return, the Hungarian Army would send its obsolete equipment to Germany to be melted down there. The countries could thus avoid the numbers of their military items exceeding the limit for conventional weapons set by the Paris Treaty.

The German-Hungarian talks on bilateral ties continued in Budapest on Wednesday. The sides are to publicize the results of the talks at a press briefing on Friday, as agreed earlier, the Hungarian Defence Ministry communique says.

Agreement With Russia on Minorities Viewed

AU1811140992 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Nov 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Istvan Ijgyarto, head of department at the Office for Hungarians Living Beyond the Border, by Tibor Kis; place and date not given: "Joint Efforts for the National Minorities"]

[Text] The Hungarian side views the Hungarian-Russian statement on the protection of the rights of national minorities which was signed in Budapest on 11 November very positively, Istvan Ijgyarto told NEPSZABADSAG, assessing the document.

[Kis] What is the reason for this kind of Hungarian-Russian cooperation?

[Ijgyarto] As all of a sudden many millions of Russians are finding themselves in national minorities in the Soviet Union's successor states, Moscow has started to show an understandable interest in the area of national minorities and this includes Hungary's experience in this area.

[Kis] However, we do not have a Russian minority and they do not have a Hungarian minority.

[Ijgyarto] Yes, but declaring our obligations toward each other in this respect was not the purpose of this document.

[Kis] So what is the practical use of this?

[Ijgyarto] International cooperation. This statement will make it possible for the two countries to present a joint attitude at international forums on the issues of national minorities that is so important for us.

[Kis] In your view, which sections of the statement are particularly important?

[Ijgyarto] I feel that it is very remarkable that the document goes beyond the usual human rights dimension and does not forget about the security policy aspect of the problem. It is no less important that the sides acknowledge that the national minorities are beginning to appear in social life as distinct subjects. The fifth

point of the statement is particularly outstanding in this respect. According to this, the sides respect the national minorities' rights to self-determination and, in their view, in a democratic society, this includes the possibility of establishing autonomies on a territorial basis or other forms of self-administration. They also acknowledge the right of people who belong to national minorities to participate in social life—including making and implementing decisions on issues connected with preserving their identity—through establishing their own organizations and unions.

[Kis] This actually means the recognition of the collective rights of national minorities.

[Ijgyarto] Yes and in essence it also means the recognition of the principle of internal self-determination of national minorities. In this sense, this statement can indeed be seen as a pioneering effort in international practice.

[Kis] Are you not afraid that the statement will evoke suspicion in Ukraine where there are large Hungarian and Russian minorities?

[Ijgyarto] I do not sense any tension between Russia and Ukraine in this issue. This document can create antagonistic feelings in places where the collective rights of national minorities are not recognized and the national minority organizations are not considered to be legitimate representatives of the given minority.

Csurka Reacts to Antall Speech at Liberal Forum

AU1811210992 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Nov 92 p 4

[Interview with Istvan Csurka, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Csoknyay on 16 November; place not given: "The Center Is There Where the Masses Are"]

[Text] [Csoknyay] What is your opinion of Antall's speech at the liberal forum held on 14 November and, in view of this, the current and future situation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], including your role in the MDF?

[Csurka] I only heard parts of Antall's speech carried by the media. Given the fact that I do not have much confidence in the media's accuracy, I would not like to give an opinion on this. However, I regard as strange and disproportionate that, today, when this country is struggling with so many real problems, like the Bos power plant issue, the budget, privatization, and the miserable situation of the Hungarian agricultural workers, this rather insignificant question of the number of trends within the MDF and their relations with each other, as well as the value of national liberalism, receives such importance. Both the government and the prime minister should deal more with the real issues; he could have made use of his appearance in public to deal with these comprehensive issues.

I do not think that this speech has changed the MDF in any way; it has only deepened the gaps. I myself hope that those who support me also support the entire MDF. I would not like to speak about who is in the church and who is not in the church, and why the one who is supported by many people is not in the church. The laws of physics also show that the center is where the weight is, the bigger mass. I do not want to confront my own masses with the MDF, and I would not like to be forced to do this.

[Csoknyay] What could force you to do this?

[Csurka] This huge domestic and foreign campaign about some misinterpreted sentences of my essay is definitely causing a lot of harm to all Hungarians. It is also part of this specific European process that they fill the press with such insignificant things, and monsters are mentioned where there are none, while Europe and the Balkans are full of bloody real things. And in places where hundreds and thousands of people are bleeding to death, they wash their hands.

I would like to see all of this come to an end as soon as possible, and we could start discussing genuine issues. In connection with my essay, it is inevitable to discuss the real issues connected with the government, the entire MDF, and its future policy as a whole.

Walesa Proposes Rights, Liberties Charter

AU1711115392 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Nov 92 p 1

[Report by Danuta Frey: "Charter on Rights and Liberties"]

[Text] On 12 November, Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, sent a draft Charter of Rights and Liberties to the Sejm. However, the charter is not intended to be solely a statement of rights and liberties. By defining civil rights and liberties, political rights, and a minimum of social rights, it guarantees the way in which these are to be implemented at the same time. That is the most important thing about it. Anyone who believes that his rights and liberties have been infringed, will be able to have them enforced through a court or by filing a complaint with the Constitutional Court.

"Anyone whose liberty has been infringed, may apply to a court for that infringement to be terminated. Anyone whose rights under the charter have been infringed, may seek a court order enforcing the realization of that right. In the event that rights or liberties guaranteed by the charter have been violated, there is an entitlement to monetary compensation for the damage suffered. Anyone who has suffered damage as a result of the violation of the rights or liberties guaranteed by the charter is entitled to seek redress of damage," states the bill. A Polish citizen would be able to apply to the Constitutional Court to obtain a ruling on whether a law or other legal instrument conforms with the charter. The Constitutional Tribunal ruling would be binding.

"It is no coincidence that the president has proposed this initiative now, before the signing of the Small Constitution," said Lech Falandysz, the deputy head of the presidential chancellery. "A constitutional definition of the relations between the arms of government is necessary, but it is not a sufficient condition for establishing a democratic state in which the rule of law is observed. That also calls for a constitutional definition of relations between government and the individual. While separating and balancing the powers of government, limits also have to be placed on those powers. Limits that cannot be overstepped have to be defined. That is why, according to the president, the rapid approval of the Charter of Right and Liberties is as obvious a need as the adoption of the Small Constitution. As the issue is an urgent one, it will require the same kind of legislative process as the Small Constitution, that is, the appointment of an extraordinary Sejm commission."

The draft Charter of Rights and Liberties was drawn up over the past few months by the presidential chancellery on the basis of material prepared by the Polish Helsinki Committee. Committee experts also took part in preparing its final form. It guarantees freedom of conscience and freedom of religion; the right to disseminate views, information, and ideas; equal access to public service, and equal access to benefiting from basic health care provided by the public health service. It prohibits censorship and the extradition of Polish citizens. Everyone has the right to obtain access to official documents and files about them and to have them rectified. It grants the freedom to establish political parties and the freedom of association in trade unions. No one can be forced to declare their beliefs, views, religion or nationality. A Polish citizens cannot be expelled from the territory of the Republic of Poland. Property and inheritance are respected and protected. Taxes and public charges cannot be made retroactive and can only be imposed by law. Everyone may undertake and pursue economic activity. Everyone is free to choose their occupation and place of work and no one may be forbidden to pursue their occupation.

The president's initiative is, at the same time, an element of a longer-term plan: a future two-section constitution. It would consist of a section defining citizens' rights and liberties as well as a section on institutions that would define the structure of government. Once it has been approved and tested in practice, the Charter of Rights and Liberties could become part of the future constitution of the Republic of Poland.

Politicians Comment on Draft

AU1811173792 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Nov 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Bernadeta Waszkielewicz and Pawel Reszka: "Civil Charter Contains No Undertones"]

[Excerpts] RZECZPOSPOLITA spoke to several politicians about the draft Civil Rights and Liberties Charter submitted to the Sejm by President Walesa on Thursday [12 November]. Most of them said they cannot detect any political undertones in the document, although others said they had not had time to read it. Deputy Jacek Maziarski [Center Accord] expressed surprise that a document of such legal importance could be placed before parliament without the knowledge of parliamentarians or political parties.

Sejm Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski said that the contents of the charter should be included in the constitution, while Stefan Niesiolowski, chairman of the parliamentary club of the Christian-National Union, said that by submitting the charter in the first place, the president wanted to indicate what the final constitution should contain.

"The fact that the president submitted the charter when he did is of no political significance," said Donald Tusk, leader of the Liberal-Democratic Congress. "It was quite a natural thing to do because we in Parliament have to reach a decision on the Small Constitution and the president has to decide whether or not to sign it. There is work to be done on the final constitution, and we all realize how difficult it will be to achieve a consensus on the constitution not only in this parliament, but also in the next one. Personally I think it was a very good idea to enshrine basic civil liberties in something that looks like

an informal preamble to the constitution, which will be accepted by political forces more readily."

Tusk thinks that despite appearances to the contrary, the political practice over the past two or three years guarantees civil liberties. The constitution or other legal instruments do not do so effectively. [passage omitted]

Leszek Moczulski, leader of the Confederation of Independent Poland, said that the introduction of such a document was merely a question of time. "It is important for civil rights to be not just a set of declarations, but principles to which one can refer," he said. He recalled that the anticommunist opposition had always wanted a document like this. "At last it has arrived, and it is a good thing that the president came out with this initiative," said Moczulski. [passage omitted]

"As far as I can tell, the document contains sensible and not so sensible things," said Janusz Korwin-Mikke, leader of the Union of Real Politics. "It is correct to establish a charter of political liberties, but it is rather odd to include children's rights, which departs from Polish tradition. Perhaps some parts of the document will be thrown out and new things added, but most of the principles therein are already contained in other documents. However, nowhere does it say that the law is retroactive, that deputies are legally responsible for the consequences of the legislation they have passed, or that lower-ranking legislation is invalid if it conflicts with higher-ranking legislation. These principles should be made clear. The charter will be adopted, but I fear it will not be heeded. Nothing is heeded in Poland, not even the constitution. One day perhaps, when people in Poland finally realize that laws ought to be obeyed, the civil rights charter may have some meaning. But right now, it has none whatsoever."

Suchocka Signs Economic Agreements With Belarus

LD1911112192 Warsaw PAP in English 0008 GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text] Minsk, Warsaw, Nov. 18—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka signed three agreements with Belarus during her one-day visit to Minsk on Wednesday [18 November] and held talks with Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich. The agreements concern the avoidance of double taxation, cooperation in technology, and cooperation in culture, science and education. The talks held in Minsk focused on economic matters, especially expanding bilateral trade and streamlining financial settlements connected with trade.

Suchocka told reporters after her talks with Kebich that a Polish-Belarusian commercial bank would be set up to facilitate trade exchange. She also said that Kebich assured her that the recently introduced export quotas on Belarusian goods would not affect Polish importers.

Upon her return to Warsaw, Suchocka denied reports that while in Minsk she had voiced anxiety over the development of relations between Minsk and Moscow. "I did say that Poland is interested in Belarus being a fully independent state. We are also interested in assisting Belarus in her march towards Europe. In this context I asked about the signing of 20 agreements between Belarus and Russia" last summer. Suchocka explained that she had received an answer from the Belarusian side to the effect that similar agreements would be signed also with Poland.

Suchocka'a chief of staff, Jan Maria Rokita, added that the Belarusian officials referred to very scant assistance their country was getting from the West. This made it necessary for Belarus to expand cooperation with Russia. Rokita said he considered this position justified.

Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Wednesday afternoon held talks with Chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Council Stanislav Shushkevich. Then she left for Grodno to meet representatives of the Union of Poles in Belarus. In the evening Suchocka met with the 700-strong group of representatives of the Polish minority in Belarus and told them about the talks she had held with the top Belarusian politicians. She also had an exchange of views on the Polish Government's efforts aimed at the clarification of a status of Belarusian Poles. "The Belarusian identity is reborn, so is the identity of Poles living here. These are parallel processes, and the success of democratic reforms is a guarantee of their successful accomplishment," the Polish prime minister said. She added that Poland is aware of the rights of minorities living in Poland, including Belarusians, but "it does not forget about the Poles living in Belarus" and will render them any possible assistance, Suchocka assured the gathering.

Controversy Over Abortion Referendum Continues

LD1611232792 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—Spokesman for the Christian National Union (ZChN) Ryszard Czarnecki on Monday [16 November] said that the resolution adopted by the regional congress of the Democratic Union (UD) in support of referendum on the abortion issue "does not weaken the position of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka in her government."

Addressing a press conference in Wroclaw, south-west Poland, Czarnecki recalled that Suchocka was a "co-authoress of the ZChN-promoted draft on the protection of unborn child and represents views close to those held by ZChN on this issue."

Leader of the Movement for the Republic, former prime minister Jan Olszewski found the idea to hold a national referendum "exceptionally unfortunate." In his opinion the question of abortion should be solved by the parliament alone.

By contrast, the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) "fully supports the activity of the Social

Committee for Referendum on Abortion and welcomes this initiative as one convergent with the party's view", according to a declaration signed by the SdRP Deputy Chairman Jozef Oleksy. "We have been pointing for a long time to the need of social consultations on the idea of punishing women and doctors for performing abortion, included in the draft law on protection of the unborn child," the declaration reads.

Martial Law Committee Seeking More Evidence

LD1611231192 Warsaw PAP in English 2209 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Kielce, Warsaw, Nov. 16—The Sejm Committee for Constitutional Responsibility which has been taking testimony from General Wojciech Jaruzelski and his collaborators to establish whether they should be brought to account before the Tribunal of State for the introduction of martial law on 13 December, 1981, is making efforts to obtain documentary evidence from archives in the East and the West, the chairman of the committee said Monday [16 November].

During a radio phone-in held in Kielce, southern Poland, Sejm deputy Edward Rzepka said he hoped some secret documents would surface that would help answer the question whether General Jaruzelski had tried to save Poland on 13 December, 1981 or to destroy her. Rzepka revealed that his committee had asked the president to instruct his special envoy to Moscow to pay special attention to any possible documents held in Russian archives and pertaining to the martial law in Poland. Rzepka also said the committee would be very interested in gaining access to archives of the American CIA.

In Warsaw meanwhile two lawyers representing Jaruzelski and other personalities now testifying before the Rzepka committee protested formally over the way of handling the hearings by Rzepka.

'Lot' Airline Becomes State Treasury Company

LD1611205192 Warsaw PAP in English 1932 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—As of Monday [16 November] "Lot" Polish airlines became a company of the State Treasury as a result of a decision made by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka. The articles governing its activity are ready and it will soon be registered in court, announced Deputy Secretary of State in the Transport and Maritime Economy Ministry Boguslaw Liberadzki. The company will be governed by a 3-5 person board of directors and a 9 person supervisory board. The first board of directors will be called by the transport minister. The supervisory board will include representatives from "Lot", the Transport Ministry and the State Treasury.

According to Liberadzki the firing of "Lot" Director Bronislaw Klimaszewski will not delay the transformation of "Lot". Meanwhile, the fired Klimaszewski has described his Friday dismissal as political in nature and said that it had nothing to do with improving the economic health of "Lot," at a press conference in Warsaw on Monday. In his opinion the statistics on the financial condition of "Lot" presented by the Transport Ministry upon his dismissal are false. The former "Lot" director maintained his opinion that "Lot" 's economic health actually improved this year. When asked about the authenticity of the Transport Ministry's figures on "Lot" 's finances, Liberadzki stated that they originated from studies conducted by the Finance Ministry and the Main Statistical Office (GUS). Liberadzki said that according to these statistics "Lot" experienced a 50 per cent drop in net income in September as compared to the previous 8 months.

Liberadzki also firmly denied rumours to the effect that Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski was behind Klimaszewski's Friday dismissal, and said that the decision was made independently by Transport Minister Zbigniew Jaworski.

Accord on Romania's Association With EC Sealed

AU1711204592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1923 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Brussels, ROMPRES 17/11/1992—The agreement on association between the EC and Romania was sealed Tuesday, November 17 in Brussels after having been discussed in several bilateral negotiation rounds. The ceremony was attended by senior officials of the acting Council of European Communities, of the leading EC Commission departments, by members of permanent missions of the twelve in Brussels, by Daniel Suggenbuhl [name as received], head of the Foreign Relations Department under the EC, and Napoleon Pop, secretary of state at the Ministry of Trade and Tourism of Romania.

Romania is the fourth East European country after Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia that gets the significant status of "associate with the EC."

Stolojan To Work at World Bank in Washington

AU1811153092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1432 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/11/1992—Romania's caretaker premier Theodor Stolojan left Bucharest on Wednesday [18 November] morning heading for the United States of America.

In a statement at the Otopeni Airport, Stolojan said that starting January 1, 1993 he hoped to be working with the World Bank in Washington. The said the new job would allow him to help Romania as the respective institution deals with the economic development of the states of the world. Referring to his activity at the World Bank, Theodor Stolojan said: I do not know exactly the position I am to hold. Probably, I will be part of a group to be created early next year, which will concentrate on synthesizing the experience acquired by the persons in its composition in the area of banking and economic restructuring.

On Tuesday, November 17, Dan Mircea Popescu, minister of labor and social protection, was appointed interim prime minister.

Parliament Discusses Vacaroiu's Program

AU1811200092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1911 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/11/1992—The two chambers of Romania's parliament started debating, in a joint sitting on November 18, the government program and the granting of the confidence vote to the new cabinet. Nicolae Vacaroiu, prime minister-designate, made some points in connection with the program during the sitting and referred to the hearing of the proposed ministers in the chambers' standing commissions.

Nicolae Vacaroiu expressed very clearly the opinion that the government program proposed had as absolute priority the continuation of the process of reform, transition and privatization. Likewise, the proposed government assumed special care for the level of the social costs of that process. The premier showed a critical and constructive analysis ought to be made of the postrevolution period, laying stress on the legislative aspects and distortions emerged in the society. This takes time, the prime minister stressed, considering the effort of working out viable solutions meant to materialize the strategic objectives laid down in the government program.

The process of demolition of the national economy should be curbed, Nicolae Vacaroiu said. The prime minister firmly rejected the alleged option for state centralism. In another sequence of ideas, the premier expressed satisfaction at the serious manner in which debates proceeded in the parliament's hearing commissions. Special reference was made to the situation of Vasile Mois, proposed for the office of minister for liaison with parliament, who had not got the quorum of the commissions. Vacaroiu told the parliament that Mois wanted the withdrawal of his candidacy. Thinking that such a ministerial office ought to be held by a person that should be to the liking of all groupings in the parliament, the premier proposed lawyer Valer Dorneanu to fill it. Dorneanu is to pass the hearing in the parliamentary commissions.

Addresses by Representatives of Parliament Groups

During parliament's Wednesday afternoon session, the leader of the Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) Parliamentary Group, Dan Martian, referred to the current difficult economic situation that he said was due both to inherent hardships and to postrevolutionary governments' errors. The government proposed for parliamentary investiture has the task to stop production downfall, to more firmly imply the state in the economy in its capacity as owner and ensure a decent living to all the country's citizens, he said, stressing that it also had to fight corruption as one of its major goals.

Mr. Ion Diaconescu, leader of the Peasant and Ecology Parties Parliamentary Group, assessed in his address that FDSN had to form a government of politicians that should make it responsible before the electorate. He said his parliamentary group would not vote the new government as proposed because it had serious objections regarding George Ioan Danescu (minister of the interior), Iulian Mincu (minister of health) and Vasile Mois (minister in charge of relations with parliament). Yet he asserted that the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party would show a constructive attitude in parliament.

In behalf of the Romanian National Unity Party Parliamentary Group, Senator Teodor Ardelean criticized the government program presented by the prime minister-designate, saying it was only sketchy. He also invited the

future cabinet to very clearly and concretely define its environment policy and to more thoroughly explain the role and attributions of the consultative council it contemplated setting up.

Attila Verestoy, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Union's Parliamentary Group in the Senate, expressed his discontent with the way how the government program was articulated, calling it "plan of measures." He said the government ought to be a political one, reflect the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] options but observe also the opposition's options.

Verestoy also considered that a sacrificial government was not the solution. The speaker also referred to the contradictions between the program proposed by the government and the president's message especially as regarded the privatization.

The proposed government program expresses wishes instead of means and this makes it unacceptable, said Alexandru Popovici from the Civic Liberal Orientation Group in the Senate. He criticized the fact that the government did not have a political character, as many of the proposed ministers were not FDSN members. Popovici also questioned the premier's option to include in the cabinet persons who had ministerial jobs under Ceausescu, which was of a nature to seriously affect the country's image and prestige.

During the November 18 parliament session, Ion Aurel Stoica, representative of the National Salvation Front [FSN] Parliamentary Group, said he was confused about the governing programme Mr. Vacaroiu presented, since it had no perspective and referred only to short periods of time like the 1992-93 winter.

He also questioned the rate of the reform and of the privatisation process, showing doubts about the state's implication in economic affairs. Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica requested the premier-designate to formulate a long-term national programme apt to prove certitudes as regards the policy it was to promote over a four-year interval. The FSN representative showed no clear position on whether his group was to give its vote to the premier-designate or not.

Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor, representative of the National-Line Parliamentary Group mentioned his party (Greater Romania-PRM) backed the government's programme and strategy, considering that Romania would have a chance to start a new life. Mr. Tudor characterized 1992 as a year of stability thanks to both the people's wisdom and the power's levers. He also requested the setting up of a national committee to investigate anti-Romanian activities. Expressing his confidence in the present parliament and proposed government, Mr. Tudor assessed they would accomplish the union with Moldova in one year.

Parliament was also addressed by Mr. Ioan Bogdan, representative of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] in the Chamber of Deputies. He stated he could understand why a short-term programme had been presented by the premier-designate, being sure Mr. Vacaroiu was to subsequently work out a long-term programme apt to cope with Romanian realities and comply with national interests. Mr. Bogdan pleaded for a stop in the decline of the population's incomes and a firm government action so as to ensure strict observance of the laws in force.

Coposu To Oppose Any 'Authoritarianism'

AU1811204492 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 12 Nov 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Any Slide Toward an Authoritarian Government Will Be Strongly Contested"]

[Text] The Vacaroiu government will not take economic steps that will overburden the population. The future prime minister pledged this in a conversation on 10 November with Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], which lasted almost one and a half hours.

The PNTCD leader insisted that the government should take into consideration the social aspects of the transition toward the market economy. The economic reform measures designed to lead to a market economy—the only one capable of ensuring the country's normal development—should have a social connotation.

The public must be informed by the future government about the difficult period ahead. In this respect, one of the most difficult tasks of the government will be to free itself from the trap of the Democratic National Salvation Front's [FDSN] electoral promises, which go well beyond our budgetary possibilities.

Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu presented his concept of a government consisting of four of five superministries, each one in charge of a different branch of activity. (Three of the future deputy prime ministers seem to have already been designated for these tasks: Messrs. Teodor Melescanu, Misu Negritoiu, and Dan Mircea Popescu head the list of the preferred ones, along with two other favorites of Mr. Ion Iliescu: Bogdan Teodoroiu and Florin Georgescu).

The government, Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu said, will be constituted for the entire legislative period of four years, but for the time being, it only intends to work out a program for the first stage of activity.

FDSN will supply part of the ministerial team; the rest will be filled with politically suitable technocrats—that is, suitable to Mr. Iliescu's party—who will assume the political responsibility of governing.

PNTCD will observe its pledge regarding the investiture vote, accepting that the FDSN, apparently unable to supply the entire list of the future government, should place some experts under its aegis, whom Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu will "enlist" in his cabinet.

"We will help the future government take the country out of its current misery," Mr. Corneliu Coposu said. "However, we will oppose any tendency of sliding toward authoritarianism and any legislation smacking of Marxism-Leninism."

With slight but inevitable nuances, all leaders of the parties making up the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] who talked to Mr. Vacaroiu after Mr. Corneliu Coposu expressed positions similar to those of the CDR president.

AC's Constantinescu Discusses Political Doctrines

AU1811195392 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Nov 92 p 3

[Interview with Civic Alliance Vice President Emil Constantinescu by Roxana Iordache; place and date not given: "The Foundation for Democracy Is Being Set Up"]

[Text] [Iordache] In your opinion, what should the Civic Alliance [AC] do to publicize the main political doctrines that may determine our citizens to join parties?

[Constantinescu] This is one of the most important tasks which the Civic Alliance should assume through the Civic Academy or the Foundation for Democracy, which is in the process of being set up. It is difficult for the democratic society to take shape and for mentalities to change; certainly, in the future, parties in Romania have to exist exclusively on the basis of ideological criteria. For this purpose, we first have to clarify the main trends of European ideology to which Romania belongs and which are generally well known by everyone, namely Christian-democrat, liberal, social-democrat, and more recently, ecologist. These are the four generally accepted trends in the democratic zone. Only leftist and rightist extremism is placed outside these trends. I think that clarification will be achieved slowly in the area of assimilating these doctrines on the one hand, while an electorate with specific interests will emerge that may adhere to these doctrines.

IMF Approves Third Installment of Loan

AU1711204692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/11/1992—In its November 16 meeting, the administration board of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] approved of an account [report] about Romania and the granting of the third installment of the IMF stand-by credit for this year, reported the National Bank of Romania.

The $75-million worth of installment is to be put at Romania's disposal in a few days.

Popescu Chairs Government Meeting on Fuel Prices

AU1811195292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1722 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/11/1992—In the absence of Theodor Stolojan, the November 18 meeting of the government was chaired by Dan Mircea Popescu, minister of labour and social protection, who coordinates the government routine until the new cabinet takes over.

The main issue under discussion was the setting of the fuel prices and excises pursuant to negotiations between the government's special representative in the relations with unions and employers and the car drivers' representatives. According to the executive's new decision, the retail price of premium gasoline is 100 lei/litre for ration and 160 lei/litre for the free buy. The new prices are applicable over November 19-December 31, 1992. The dual system of prices may be eliminated after January 1, 1993, with the renunciation of rations.

To discourage gasoline bootlegging, the decision stipulates a customs duty of 200 percent of the value of the fuel calculated at the tank capacity for the natural persons with residence in Romania who travel abroad.

Minister of Industries Dan Constantinescu accounted to the cabinet on the achievement of energy resource stocks. It resulted that the stocks on November 15, 1992 were bigger than in the same period last year, reaching up to 220 percent with fuel oil. As compared with the program, it is estimated that the stocks will be achieved 94 percent with coal, 87.4 percent with fuel oil, 110 percent with natural gas by November 30.

The government decided to grant a monthly allowance of 50 U.S. dollars to young Romanians sent to complete university studies, doctor's degree and brush-up terms in countries where the scholarships are considered as low.

Silajdzic Calls Arms Embargo 'Unjust, Immoral'

AU1811171192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes on news conference by Foreign Affairs Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 18 November—recorded]

[Text] Today in the International Press Center, Haris Silajdzic, minister for foreign affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, commented on the latest decision by the UN Security Council.

[Begin recording] The UN Security Council Resolution, which you have all heard about, is below [word indistinct]. There are no real arguments against the lifting of the embargo on arms exports to Bosnia-Hercegovina. We still maintain the view that the arms embargo is illegal, as it has been imposed against Yugoslavia. Bosnia-Hercegovina is now a sovereign country, a member of the United Nations. That is the first thing.

Second, Bosnia-Hercegovina has the right to collective and individual defense, and that right has been denied. This resolution is a highly questionable decision by the Security Council. [end recording]

[Vranjes] Many decisions and resolutions by the Security Council are not carried out, and when it comes to stopping the act of genocide being committed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Security Council is slow and indecisive. All that helps the aggressor, Silajdzic said. This policy of status quo that is currently predominant in the world is the main cause of this slowness and indecisiveness, and that is what we have to change by applying more pressure on the public at large.

France and Great Britain do not understand us fully, and these two countries have several times opposed decisions that could have safeguarded the implementation of the resolutions. [words indistinct] initiated wide activities for a new London conference but, prior to that, he did not consult anyone in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Silajdzic said. On the other hand, there has been some progress made under the pressure of public opinion, and there are also some indications that NATO will see to the implementation of the resolutions. All this gives rise to the hope that there will be a U-turn in world diplomacy toward effective measures in stopping the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina. Through public opinion and the UN General Assembly, we will try to do all we can to have this unjust, immoral, and illegal embargo on arms lifted.

As for the cooperation of Bosnia-Hercegovina with the Organization of Islamic Conference, Silajdzic said:

[Begin recording] The members of the Organization of Islamic Conference have stepped up their activity in the United Nations. The resolutions that were adopted yesterday are the result of this activity, but some of the proposals of the members of the Organization of Islamic Conference have been rejected, like the one on the lifting of the embargo on arms exports to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

On the other hand, on 1 December, there will be a conference on the ministerial level in Jeddah, so it is a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Organization of Islamic Conference, which will be dedicated exclusively to the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will present the case of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as our delegation has been invited to attend this meeting.

We will ask for financial support, and ask them to provide for the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina—meaning food, medicine, building material. We will tell them about the cultural genocide that is being committed against both the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Croats, that is the Croatian cultural heritage. Of course, the same goes for some Serbian Orthodox monuments. This is sheer destruction without precedent in recent European history.

We will tell them in one sentence that it is not a matter of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina—there are no warring factions—but it is a matter of a monstrous crime being committed against the civilian population of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will try to use this meeting in Jeddah as a platform for telling the truth about Bosnia-Hercegovina, about what is happening here.

There have been some activities before, and contacts with the Organization of Islamic Conference, particularly with those who can help us financially at the moment, and some oil has been provided from Turkey. Now it is waiting to be transported. Iran and Qatar have promised to send a tanker of oil each. In the case of Iran, that means 100,000 tonnes, and we still do not know how much will come from Qatar. We believe that this amount will be quite enough not only for securing the convoys—that is, corridors—but also for the survival of Bosnia-Hercegovina during the winter. [end recording]

[Vranjes] Commenting on the events in Sandzak and Kosovo, Haris Silajdzic said that these events resembled the prewar events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that he thought that the Belgrade regime was avoiding an open confrontation that would lead to an all-out Balkan war, and a clash between Greece and Turkey. The Belgrade regime knows that if that happened, the world would quickly go into action.

The world has to understand that Bosnia is larger than life, and if it bursts along the seams, then the entire Europe will burst, Silajdzic stressed.

Serbs Reportedly Violating Agreement

AU1811163092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Report by Izudin Sahovic from Mostar]

[Excerpt] Mostar has been spared shelling today, but the aggressor continued violating the cease-fire elsewhere along the frontline. The chetniks are targeting the defense positions around (?Blagaj) and [word indistinct]. The Mostar hydroelectric power plant has again been shelled, while at the foot of Mt. Velez, where there was some fierce fighting recently, the defenders have so far had a quiet day.

(?Veso Vegar), representative of the headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council, told reporters today that the enemy was not observing the agreement on the safety of the humanitarian corridor from the port of Ploce via Mostar to Sarajevo for the transportation of aid to the beleaguered people of Bosnia. This agreement should be in force by Friday [20 November] at the latest, but it is very uncertain whether the Serbian aggressor will stop shelling parts of that highway. Today, the enemy heavily shelled the Mostar hydroelectric power plant, only about 100 meters from the highway, which is itself often shelled. The Serbian heavy artillery is also targetting the roads south and north of Mostar.

(?Veso Vegar) said that they would do everything to secure this main corridor for humanitarian aid to the entire Bosnia-Hercegovina, but they would not comply with possible demands from UNPROFOR [UN Prtection Force] to move the present division line between the forces. [passage omitted]

Gorazde 'Desperate' for Humanitarian Aid

LD1911115892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text] Serb forces are attacking eight towns in Bosnia-Hercegovina with their artillery and infantry, Sarajevo Radio reported this morning. Sarajevo, Olovo, Maglaj, Tesanj, Turbe, Bugojno, Gradacac, and Bihac are being attacked.

Citizens of Gorazde, who are facing death from starvation, are desperate for humanitarian aid. The town is overpopulated with refugees from nearby areas currently under Serb control.

Sarajevo was quiet last night. Nevertheless, a tank shell which fell on Bascarsija yesterday killed one man and seriously wounded his wife and child.

Serbs Say Muslims Delaying Release of Captives

LD1911100092 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0645 GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text] Bihac, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—The Serb leadership in the Bihac region (northwest of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina) on Wednesday [18 November] evening accused the Moslem authorities of avoiding to negotiate the release and exchange of Serb civilians and soldiers detained in a camp in Cazinska Krajina.

The Moslem side is trying to avoid talks and procrastinate the exchange indefinitely, with an aim to detain the rest of the Serb population in Cazinska Krajina as hostages, the Serb leadership said in a statement.

Cazinska Krajina is a Moslem enclave on the Serb-held territory in the northwestern part of the war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Serb and Moslem sides met on Tuesday to negotiate the exchange of POWs, but failed to agree.

The Serb leadership said the Moslem authorities would be fully responsible for the consequences which might emerge if the POWs were not exchanged immediately.

The Serb leadership also accused the Moslem side of starting the war and the process of ethnic cleansing in northwestern Bosnia-Hercegovina. There are proofs that the exodus of Moslems from the region of Kulen Vakuf and Ripac was carefully prepared and carried out by extremists from the Bihac Moslem authorities, the statement said.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has for over seven months been the scene of a religious and civil war between Moslems (44 percent of the republic's population), Serbs (32 percent) and Croats (17 percent).

Vance, Owen Begin Visit To Krajina

LD1911093792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text] Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, the cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, arrived on a two-day visit to Croatia. They landed at Split airport just after 0900.

They were greeted by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Commander General Satish Nambiar and his deputy Cedric Thornberry, who is also the head of civilian affairs. Vance and Owen, accompanied by Nambiar and Thornberry, have started their tour of the four sectors under United Nations protection. They will first visit the Peruca hydroelectric dam, then Knin, Maslenica, and Topusko.

Tudjman Talks With Islamic Conference Delegation

LD1611210792 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Republic President Franjo Tudjman has received an Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] delegation, headed by ICO Secretary General Hamid Algabid. The delegation, which had made a brief visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina, wanted to find out the situation in Croatia and the state of Croatian-Muslim relations. Secretary General Algabid informed President Tudjman that, in the course of talks in Sarajevo, they received firm assurances about positive and stable progress in Croatian-Muslim relations. On the eve of the forthcoming extraordinary ministerial meeting of Islamic countries, to be held in Saudi Arabia at the beginning of December, this assessment—according to the delegation—has removed sporadic doubts regarding Croatia. [as received]

President Tudjman and members of the Croatian delegation discussed with the guests the ineffective western attitude toward Serb and Montenegro aggression against the two new states. It was concluded that there are reasons and means for the Islamic countries to increasingly use their influence to urge speedy UN action.

Both sides concluded that the Islamic countries could contribute to a positive progress of the Croatian-Muslim relations within the framework of the talks on the future constitutional system in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Thanking Croatia for its support to threatened Bosnia-Hercegovina and in particular for its help to almost half a million refugees, 80 percent of whom are are Muslims, the ICO secretary general promised that the forthcoming ministerial meeting will have a crucial impact on strengthening support for the Republic of Croatia.

News Conference Reports Serb Truce Violations

LD1811141792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] In a news conference held today in the Croatian Army operative zone for Karlovac, it was announced that Serbian forces have violated the cease-fire 21 times. European observers and UN personnel have been informed that Serbian irregulars are continuously firing on Croatian positions along the 70 kilometer frontline, running from Sisak to Ogulin.

Status of Krsko Nuclear Power Plant Questioned

93BA0166A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 92 p 4

[Article by Zeljko Buksa: "Press Conference at Ministry of Energy: Is New Nuclear Power Plant Emerging?"]

[Text] *"The government must first adopt criteria for choosing the most favorable locations for new nuclear and thermoelectric power plants and a permanent disposal site for radioactive waste."*

Zagreb—"The nuclear energy option is completely open in Croatia and enjoys equal status with all others in the consideration process. In a study by the Institute for the Electric Power Industry on possible scenarios for the development of the HEP [Croatian Electric Power Industry], the building of a new nuclear power plant is indeed mentioned, but a final decision will depend on several factors." This was the response given by Ivo Valcic, the head of the Nuclear Safety Division of the Ministry of Energy, at a ministry press conference on Wednesday when asked whether new nuclear power plants would be built in Croatia.

The journalists were also interested in where the plants might be built and whether a public referendum will be organized on the possibility of building new nuclear plants, given the fact that this is a sensitive issue. "The government must first adopt criteria for choosing the most favorable locations for new nuclear and thermoelectric power plants and a permanent disposal site for radioactive waste, which will then be included in the Croatian Regional Plan according to the statutory procedure. After that, there will be detailed field studies in order to ultimately choose the best location. An expression of public will on all this is foreseen. I am personally in favor of such a referendum, but under the condition that it be well-prepared," Mr. Valcic said.

The next question from a journalist concerned what the ministry is doing to prevent the looming collapse of the energy industry in Croatia. "We are doing all we can," said Mr. Valcic, "but over the past six months we have, due to circumstances, been transformed more into a ministry of finance, because we are trying amid the general funding crunch to ensure enough energy and, like firemen, to put out the occasional 'energy fire.' It is hard to come up with any more permanent plan or balance sheet because the situation changes almost daily, so that

we are solving the problems with major assistance from abroad," Mr. Valcic added. Despite all this, it is hoped at the ministry that consumers, at least in the northwestern part of Croatia where the energy infrastructure was not devastated as much, will not feel cutbacks, while the situation in Dalmatia is much more serious.

Also presented at the press conference was a bulletin on operations at the nuclear plant in Krsko from July to September. The plant operated in accordance with regulations, but because of the low water level of the Sava and problems with water for cooling, on the average it operated in the difficult energy situation at only 70 percent of capacity in order not to warm up the Sava more than the permitted three degrees. This is why Damir Subasic, the director of the public enterprise "Providing for Radioactive Waste" warned that the value of the unproduced energy is around $15 million. Subasic wondered whether that money could not be used to better protect the Sava, for example, to build some sort of facility to purify waste water.

The deputy director of the nuclear power plan, Josip Aralica, noted that Slovenia owes them around $23 million and Croatia around $20 million, but that Slovenia, in contrast to Croatia, has at least provided a credit of $25 million. "If the debts hinder safe operation of the nuclear plant, we will have to shut it down, so that everyone would be left without absolutely essential energy, while the state-partner would have to compensate for damages," Aralica remarked.

Another question that will probably remain open in connection with the nuclear plant, besides the problem of radioactive waste, is that of the first meeting of the Croatian-Slovene commission, the establishment of which was recently agreed to by Presidents Tudjman [Croatian president] and Kucan [Slovene president]. Officials at the Ministry of Energy feel that the Slovenes should organize this soon, because the last meeting of the Interrepublic Coordinating Board for Nuclear Problems was held in the spring of last year in Zagreb.

Questions on Vukovar Crimes Remain

93BA0168D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 92 p 3

[Article by Krunoslava Banic: "One Year Later: Vukovar Residents Not Abandoning Search: Are There People Alive in Ovcara Darkness?"]

[Text] *The hardest ones to track down are "private" camps and those in the occupied territory of eastern Slavonia; unfortunately, Milosevic has the answers about the missing persons.*

Vukovar's mothers are not abandoning the search for their loved ones. No one can deprive them (nor the mothers of Vinkovci, Osijek...) of the hope that they will find their sons. Nearly a year has passed, and they still do not have their children. They do not even have reliable indications of what happened to them. But all the eyewitness accounts by survivors who got out of the Serb torture camps concur in indicating that all traces disappeared on 19 and 20 November 1991, during the fall and occupation of Vukovar. The disappearance of these people was not a consequence of combat, but rather the way in which the chetniks and so-called JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] "evacuated" them.

In order for us to illuminate the events in Vukovar on those tragic days, it is necessary to mention the basic facts about how the enemy attacked the city. Borovo Naselje was attacked by the Novi Sad corps, while the eastern part and center of the city were attacked by a Belgrade guard division. The attack from Negoslavci was commanded by Col. Mrksic, with whom Cyrus Vance [cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia] spoke on 18 November [1991] when he visited Vukovar. During the fall of Vukovar, according to the testimony of Dr. Vesna Bosanac, Maj. Veselin Sljivancanin turned up instead of Mrksic. He is directly responsible for all the disappearances from the hospital, because he tricked the International Red Cross [IRC] and conducted the evacuation on 20 November, so that the IRC team arrived too late. And it was precisely in the hospital that many civilians had gathered for fear of what, as it turns out, actually did happen to Vukovar: individual and mass executions on the spot.

Mitnica, on an elevation in the eastern part of the city, offered admirable resistance to the enemy. When links between individual defensive positions and the city's command center were severed, the civilians and defenders in Mitnica either surrendered or attempted to break through to Vukovar. Since the enemy feared Mitnica "like the devil fears incense," they sent an International Red Cross team there to supervise the surrender and to evacuate civilians and fighters. Because of this, people did not disappear from Mitnica; they did go to camps, but they were recorded and returned. Unfortunately, the International Red Cross sent only two teams to Vukovar. They entered the city from the direction of Negoslavci, terrified that everything was mined. Appalled at the spectacle of the city, they gave themselves over to the enemy leadership, which manipulated them at will.

The International Red Cross did not even get near Borovo Naselje. For the most part, the residents of Borovo were in large warehouses at the "Borovo" combine. When it was over, only the Serbs were actually evacuated. The others were led in columns to the Trpinja road and then taken by bus to Sremska Mitrovica and other camps. On the way, all those with any sort of Croatian Armed Forces insignia were separated out, and yellow boots—identifying them as defenders—meant death. Arkan was also in Borovo, where he personally killed one Borovo resident in front of witnesses. Those who were separated out during this long journey along several streets are among those who are still missing today.

There was also a "collection point" at three "Velepromet" warehouses in the part of Vukovar near Negoslavci. During the last days and nights, many were taken from the hangars because informers were working there "at full steam." Machine-gun bursts were then heard. Those people too are listed as missing. People were interned at "Velepromet" hangars for another two or three months.

Nothing is known about the people who were taken from the hospital in five buses to the Ovcara pig farm either. According to some reports, which could not be confirmed, the people were moved from the pig pens at Ovcara only recently. Reports of smaller camps have also come from Bobota, and there are also so-called private work camps. The interned Croats are an unpaid labor force there, practically slaves. But officially all of these camps do not exist, in contrast to Stajicevo, Sremska Mitrovica, and the other camps around Serbia that the International Red Cross has nevertheless inspected.

Many of the missing persons are probably concealed in mass graves around Vukovar, but it is certain that there are also some survivors. Where are these people interned? There is no definite answer, but international institutions should investigate all possible locations. Croatia will not abandon its search for them. Another problem is that Milan Panic is negotiating with regard to the missing persons on behalf of the "FRY" [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Even if he is acting in good faith with respect to returning these people, the question is whether he is able to do so. Especially if they are in Croatia, in the territory controlled by the rebel Serbs. That is actually the key to the problem, but it is clearly Milosevic who holds that key. The Croatian negotiators, but also Messrs. Vance and Owen, must be aware of that fact if they really want to save these people.

Fact-Finding Trip to Vukovar Discussed

93BA0169B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 92 p 32

[Article by Stefan Grubac: "Life in a City of Death"]

[Text] *The two words that are uttered most often here are "is" and "isn't." In part of the city there is electricity, and in part there isn't; in part of the city there is water, and in part there isn't. There is no glass in all of Vukovar.*

One arrives in Vukovar from Sid right away, if you look at your watch, but if you measure that time in any different way—for instance, by memories, atmosphere—the trip is much longer. It is precisely in Sid, and from Sid on, that you are accompanied by the shadows of war, the shadows of a certain daily gloom. From Sid on, you start to be accompanied by the shadow of Sava Sumanovic and that experience of his which is the experience of many people: in that war, the Ustase came and took him away—him, Sava Sumanovic, a painter, who "would not even step on an ant." He put on new clothes, kissed his mother's hand, and left. He did not return, ever.

In this war, half a century later, people are disappearing again.

On the way from Sid to Vukovar, you will pass through Tovarnik. For those who like associations, instead of Tovarnik, one can write Matos. It was here in Tovarnik that A. G. Matos was born, the one who wrote that the Serbs and Croats were like the "lamb that nurses from two mothers." Anton Gustav wrote that after his Belgrade experience, probably after the coat that Janko Veselinovic gave him as a gift, to save the Croatian poet from the Belgrade wind.

There are no roofs or doors in Vukovar. There is no glass in the windows, and the wind comes from the Danube side. There are no lights in the streets, there are not even any poles, and night in October, November, December comes early. Where there has been a war, there is only: there isn't, isn't, isn't!

In spite of everything, people are returning to the city. About 5,000 people are still waiting in Vukovar. There are even several thousand Croats whom no one touches. No one touches Croats who have not touched Serbs.

"Why would the Serbs," they say here, those who arrived as refugees from different areas, "build or buy weekend cottages on Zlatibor? Why not here, in Vukovar?"

The villages around Vukovar are living well, as before the war. They say so in the city, in which it is almost as if no one was unemployed. These days a shop of the Borovo combine is starting to operate. The workers are working without pay, to link what the combine was with what the famous combine should be. Vuteks is operating, and Vinarija is starting to operate. It has not even sold the old wine. Fortunately, old wine is more expensive. Vukovar's wine cellars were shelters during the war. "Let me die next to a fountain of wine...."—this is only a poem from an unknown French poet from the Champagne province. The poet's death, and death in the cellars of Vukovar, are not the same thing; they are two deaths.

Many people perished. That is best known by three women I met on the street, three Vukovar widows. It is as if mourning clothing is nowhere as black as it is in Vukovar. But perhaps not all three were widows; maybe one is a mother, maybe one is a sister? After these three women, there were two more, and then two more, and then one more.

"But what were they looking for here? Why did the Ustase come? Why did the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] let them come, consolidate their position, kill, slaughter, mistreat Serbs?" I was asked, as if I knew, by Nebojsa Uvalic, a Serbian fighter. "Someone is to blame for it," he said. "Do you know how many friends I no longer have? Do you know what is happening now to the people I fought and defended Vukovar with? They drink in cafes out of sheer isolation, out of sheer oblivion. Those chicken thieves throw them out. Why do those who fight fare the worst?"

The Toll House awaits you and sees you off when you enter and leave Vukovar—the Toll House, the biggest Croatian stronghold. The Toll House is a place of terrible slaughter, a terrible battle, as if the whole age-old religious and national and every other kind of hatred between Croats and Serbs exploded here, in this small space, this little bulge toward Serbia. Here at the Toll House there was a clash of weapons and uniforms; but there were even more terrible things in Vukovar: A special device for strangulation was found at the Borovo combine, and not far away, in Erdut, a special device for squeezing genitals. There, at the Toll House, Josko Juric butchered his wife, a Serb, cut open her womb with a knife, and pulled out a seven-month child, hers and...his. Then he also massacred the child, and nailed them both to the trunk of a pear tree. Josko Juric used to say that only what was Croatian could remain in Croatia.

It seems impossible to find a Vukovar story that does not appear unreal: Serbian fighters remember.... A little boy ran toward the Serbs and shouted, "I am a Serb, I am a Serb...." He approached a tank and threw a bomb. Or: An old woman approached a column of soldiers. They let her come close to them, and she pulled a bomb out of her basket and threw it.

Such stories go around Vukovar, every evening.

Vukovar in the twilight, without roofs, without light, without people on the street. But 20,000 or more people live in those houses without roofs. It is as if you were on some thread between life and death: Here life has vanished and here life is being born again.

"There was a battle here for every house, for every tree," said Rade Bogojevic, a Serbian fighter. Rade Bogojevic, Nebojsa Uvalic, and fellows from their group were passing next to the houses and trees that they fought for.

"The Ustase were excellent fighters in Vukovar," he said. "We won because this is the land of our forefathers, because it is a historic Serbian land. Our motivation was stronger. We would never have fought like that for Zagreb. This is not Slavonia; it is Srem, western Srem. Do you know when the boundary stone, the old boundary stone that was near Osijek, was shifted, when it was shifted near Sid? In 1956!"

Vukovar all "was," and Vukovar all "will be," but it seems as if there is no "is" in Vukovar: there was a secondary school here, there was an economics school here, there was a theater here, there was a hotel here, there was a bus station here, there was that building from the history textbooks here, the building of the founding congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, there was a museum here, there was.... And now, there is a Vukovar miracle—probably postwar miracles are like that—the Danube Hotel has started to operate, the bus station has started to operate, the hospital has started to operate....

Rade Bogojevic: "Vukovar did not have to be destroyed. The one who let them come is responsible. Think logically! Someone did not want us to be linked with Knin. Think logically!"

I asked my interlocutors whether it was possible, from their point of view, that Croatian rule would ever return. They looked at me as if I were someone outside of reality.

Federal

Poll Shows Cosic Strongest Candidate

LD1911095992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0751 GMT 19 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic is the strongest potential candidate for president of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia, according to a poll conducted by the Belgrade-based Institute for Political Studies Medium.

In a telephone poll, medium interviewed 500 citizens of Serbia, with regard to the age and national structure of the Serbian constituency.

Cosic won 338 points among the ten leading candidates in earlier polls and whose names medium offered to the interviewed. Cosic was followed by Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic (279), and the third was Captain Dragan, the hero of the war in Croatia now engaged in resolving social problems of disabled veterans.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic ranked the fourth with 199 points.

The poll showed the voters' growing inclination towards the non-political candidates, as well as growing differences in view of the pollees' age.

The only exception is President Cosic, whose popularity grows among the older pollees. In all medium's polls so far, the "opposition-oriented politicians" enjoyed more confidence among the young people.

However, this rule completely applies to Panic and Milosevic. Panic is supported by the voters under 35, and Milosevic among those over 35.

Early Elections To Be Held as Planned

LD1911001592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2308 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 18 (TANJUG)—Early elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will not be postponed and will be held as planned on December 20, says a statement issued from the cabinet of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic on Wednesday [18 November] evening.

The early elections will be held on the federal, republic and local levels. The statement said that the decision followed consultations in the federal parliament and the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, which form the Yugoslav Federation.

One of the crucial reasons for the decision was a strong opposition to the proposed postponement by Montenegro, which has already once moved the date for its elections from December 13 to 20.

The consultations brought to light certain omissions which adversely affect the election campaign, but nothing serious enough to warrant a postponement, the statement said.

A postponement would create worse problems than anything that might result from adhering to the original plan, and all omissions may be corrected in time, said the statement.

Suspension From CSCE Extended

AU1811080592 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 92 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Still Outside CSCE"]

[Excerpt] Prague, 7 November—Yugoslavia remains outside the activities and institutions of the CSCE. This decision was adopted by the Commission of Officials early this morning at the end of a long session during which battles were fought for each word on the detailed document on the Yugoslav crisis.

The document on the Yugoslav crisis, which contains assessments on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, control missions in neighboring countries, missions for elections in Serbia and Montenegro, long-term missions in Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandzak, and a special decision on personal responsibility for crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia, is the longest yet since the Commission of Officials first discussed the situation in the former Yugoslavia last May. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Opposition Parties Form Election Coalition

LD1911001692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 18 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The People's Party [NS] and Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] today formed a new coalition in Belgrade called the Serbian Opposition [SO].

NS Chairman Milan Paroski and SDS Vice Chairman Radomir Smiljanic signed an agreement in the International Press Center on jointly running in the elections, in which the SO will take part with a single list of candidates at all three levels—federal, republic and municipal. The SO stands for the policy of strict regard for the national interests of the Serbian nation and Serbian state, Smiljanic stressed. Our basic interest is the Serbian state on the territory that the Serbian people have occupied for centuries, he said.

Paroski stressed that the SO advocates a national army, diplomatic service and economy, adding that its aim is the unification of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], the Serb Republic of Krajina, Serbia and Montenegro in a kingdom of Serbia. The Democratic Movement of Serbia, Democratic Coalition and SO are

the three opposition blocs. They are the only opposition. Everything else is manipulation of power, said Paroski, who is to be SO candidate for president of Serbia.

Macedonia

Georgievski Discusses Integrity of State

AU1811151992 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 11 Nov 92 p 7

[Interview with Ljubco Georgievski, leader of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party For Macedonia's National Unity, by Boyko Pangelov and Volodya Stratiev in Skopje on 5 November: "Only Bloodshed and a New Balkan War Could Once More Divide Macedonia"]

[Text] [KONTINENT] The situation of the Republic of Macedonia—regarding both domestic and foreign policy—has been deteriorating since the declaration of independence. Do you agree?

[Georgievski] I fully agree. Macedonia is suffering from nearly total international political and economic isolation today. None of the major European states has recognized our republic, we have practically no economic relations, and there is not even one bank in the world prepared to grant us credit.

[KONTINENT] What are the reasons for this?

[Georgievski] The inner political instability, the international conflicts and the actions of Greece, which will not permit the EC to recognize us, are the factors mainly responsible. Nevertheless, even the rulers in Skopje are not striving for international recognition of the republic.

[KONTINENT] Under such circumstances, you cannot deny Bulgaria's interest in developing relations with Macedonia. However, is your government doing everything necessary to stimulate this interest?

[Georgievski] Look, we have to consider a 45-year inheritance of the past. When a delegation of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party For Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE] visited Bulgaria for the first time last year, our local papers were simply shocked. The pro-Serbian lobby is very powerful and still exerts its influence.

[KONTINENT] We are confronted with controversial statements of politicians in both Serbia and Greece on the question of Macedonia's sovereignty. What is your attitude to such statements, especially as regards the behavior of Belgrade?

[Georgievski] You do not need much political education to understand that Athens and Belgrade have joined forces on the question of preventing Macedonia's recognition. In this respect Macedonia should be grateful for Sofia's refusal to participate in tripartite negotiations aimed at a new division of Macedonia and in secret agreements affecting our country. Bulgaria's policy actually prevented the possibility of "tripartite talks." The negotiations between Athens and Belgrade remained "bilateral," but they should not be underestimated, because they are based on serious arguments. Not only do they threaten Macedonia's international recognition, they also represent a serious military danger.

[KONTINENT] Do you envisage the possibility of a Balkan war over Macedonia?

[Georgievski] If we examine the situation according to the criteria of European policy, such a possibility is unrealistic. However, in assessing all the events that have occurred in the Balkans over the last two years, the redrawing of the geographical map, and the military conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia, we can assume that all kinds of games and scenarios are possible. Hence, the possibility of dividing our country is one of the scenarios for which we should be prepared at any time. I am sure that some are already assiduously working on this scenario. Such an operation cannot be conducted without war and I am sure that this is likely to involve other Balkan countries in military operations as well. Only a few days ago the Serbian warlord Vojislav Seselj [head of the Serbian Radical Party] once again declared that Serbia and Greece should divide Macedonia between themselves in order to have a common border at last. Some Serbian politicians are willing to recognize Macedonia, but they are immediately disavowed by others. This shows that the idea of Macedonia being part of Serboslavia is still alive.

[KONTINENT] This would perhaps be the more probable, but also more dangerous alternative?

[Georgievski] Yes, it is one of the real dangers.

[KONTINENT] What can you do in order to resist such developments?

[Georgievski] Many factors are involved. The first is the government's official policy, upon which it depends whether it will make only empty promises. The second factor is the actions of the opposition (namely the VMRO-DPMNE) and the pressure it puts on the government. The third factor is the people's will to oppose any attempts to divide the country.

[KONTINENT] Some members of your party had to stand trial for pro-Bulgarian activities, or at least this is what the newspapers wrote....

[Georgievski] No, they were not on trial because of pro-Bulgarian activities, but for actions against the state—namely, for possessing arms, explosives, and so forth. The trial showed that the present security services in Macedonia have preserved the characteristic traits of the old State Security, which regards anyone who speaks about independent Macedonia, anyone who speaks against communism, President Kiro Gligorov included, as an enemy of the state. We have published facts about

the persecution and secret surveillance of VMRO-DPMNE members and supporters, as well as about State Security attempts to recruit them. We are in possession of evidence, such as videos and documents, on the subject. One of these cases is just being examined in parliament and I hope that an official parliamentary position will be issued on it soon.

[KONTINENT] Over the last week stormy debates erupted in the Bulgarian media in connection with the Skopje visit of Konstantin Mishev, the prime minister's adviser, and his negotiations on arm deliveries. Do you have any information on the subject?

[Georgievski] We did not have much information either on the subject of the talks or on the people who conducted the negotiations on the Macedonian side. I can all make some general remarks. We do not wish to interfere in Bulgaria's domestic affairs. However, if negotiations were conducted about arms deliveries for Macedonia, we would support such talks, because our state needs weapons. If, on the other hand, the negotiations were related to arms deliveries for the Serbian Army, as some sources of information indicate, we would categorically denounce such contacts.

[KONTINENT] Although the embargo does not affect Macedonia, your country is economically more isolated than Serbia, as you just agreed. How can this be explained?

[Georgievski] The passive attitude of our state leadership is chiefly responsible for the situation. The inner-Yugoslav market has been disintegrating for the last two years, and in the meantime we did not manage to open new markets. The state made its own economic blockade after the UN embargo was imposed on Serbia, by trying to transform Macedonia into a center for the import and export of goods to and from Serbia. The government thought that this was the right method of deceiving the United States, Germany, the United Nations, and the EC. Naturally, they promptly perceived the trick and our economic isolation has become even worse as a result.

[KONTINENT] Nevertheless, the opportunities of trade with and through Bulgaria remain....

[Georgievski] Naturally, Bulgaria, as a country with a population of 9 million, is undoubtedly of interest to the Macedonian economy and this is a question that should be settled by legal acts. As far as I am acquainted with the situation, no trade, economic, customs, or other treaties and agreements to encourage our cooperation have been signed between the two countries yet.

[KONTINENT] The strong influence of the Albanians and their ethnic party, which has seats in your parliament, is one of the main factors in Macedonia's political life. What is the influence of the "Albanian factor" in your country's public life and what are the common Balkan elements of coexistence among the various ethnic groups?

[Georgievski] The overall complexity of international relations is one of the reasons for the delay in recognizing Macedonia. The aggressiveness of the Albanian minority has reached the limit, their demands are becoming increasingly excessive. This is one aspect of the problem. The other is that the old nomenklatura, trying to remain in power, formed a coalition with the Albanians, which led to serious compromises on the part of the government and to increasing claims for federalization. The VMRO-DPMNE has resolutely opposed this policy, but we shall see how far the escalation of the situation can go. (Editorial note: The interview was given on 5 November, one day prior to the tragic incident in Skopje which ended with the death of four people and dozens of injured). As far as the all-Balkan aspect is concerned, it merely shows that the current situations of conflict on our peninsula are likely to continue for a long time. We could even live long enough to see how the former Yugoslav republics become the "Lebanon of the Balkans." This would certainly destabilize all the Balkan countries.

[KONTINENT] What are the chances of the VMRO-DPMNE in early parliamentary elections?

[Georgievski] Nearly a week ago we held the first round of partial elections for three vacant seats in parliament. For all three seats our candidates managed to win the most votes and will take part in the second round on 15 November. This is likely to strengthen our party's position as the only political force in Macedonia capable of doing away with the old communist system.

[KONTINENT] Do you see any common denominator or similarity between the political situation in the Macedonian parliament and the role of the Albanian party as a balancing force compared with the Bulgarian parliament, where the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] plays such a role?

[Georgievski] It is difficult to make comparisons or look for common denominators in this case. Anyway, as far as I am acquainted with the situation, the demands of the DPS are much more moderate than those of the Albanian Party, whose final goal is to transform Macedonia into a federation. Nevertheless, there are parallels, namely, that the representatives of minorities are exerting a definite influence on government policy in both countries.

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarian Official on New Ministry

AU1811083592 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Nov 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Lazlo Jozsa, member of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians and state secretary of the newly formed Human Rights and National Minority Ministry, by Oszkar Fuzes; in Belgrade, date not given: "From Noticing Mistakes to Autonomy"]

[Text] Laszlo Jozsa, member of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians and state secretary of the newly formed Human Rights and National Minority Ministry of the FRY Government, gave us an interview in Belgrade after participating with Minister Grubac in the first official meeting between the government and the representatives of the Vojvodina Hungarians.

[Jozsa] The setting up of this new ministry signals an important intention: To examine and improve the situation of national minorities in Yugoslavia. Therefore, a Slovak, a Hungarian, and an Albanian deputy minister were appointed recently; unfortunately, the Albanian minister has not yet taken up his job, because, partly under constraint and partly voluntarily, the Kosovo Albanians "withdrew" from Yugoslav political life. The new ministry is just being set up and the department dealing with individual legal violations will start working soon.

[Fuzes] Does this ministry only serve to "pacify" the world, or can it also do something to protect human and national minority rights?

[Jozsa] Of course, we do not have a "police", nor do we have administrative authority. However, we have public administration rights, and it is also very important if we call the attention of the authorities to the problems and demand solutions to these problems.

We want to have an updated picture of the situation of human and national minority rights and to formulate complex programs aimed at preserving these rights. It is very important for this country to begin with the ideological and practical formulation of a modern form of protection of national minorities, because the situation is very serious. The Albanians in Kosovo lack almost basic rights, and the Hungarians in Vojvodina suffered a rather sensitive quantitative and qualitative loss in the wake of emigration. The most talented and agile age group has left us. We must still wait until the current wave of the Serbian national radicalism is over, although, sooner or later, the inevitable will take place.

[Fuzes] The Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK], which represents 80 percent of the votes, and another organization of barely 40 members, an organization not so much liked by the Hungarians, were there at the first meeting between the government and the Vojvodina Hungarians. Thus, the government is dealing with the VMDK and the Hungarians for the Homeland, Yugoslavia, and Serbia [MHSZJ], as equals?

[Jozsa] It would have been a mistake not to invite everyone who wishes to represent the Hungarians here to the first meeting. Independent representatives of the intellectuals and the men of various cultural and artistic associations were also present at this first meeting. As for the MHSZJ, it is good that they were present, because they made a complete fool of themselves in front of the foreign observers too.

[Fuzes] Serbian President Milosevic and Yugoslav Prime Minister Panic have reached a confrontation. Is this a real conflict, or was this only according to the "script," because Panic was actually brought here by Milosevic...?

[Jozsa] That is true, but it turned out that Panic really and seriously wanted to build democracy in Serbia.

[Fuzes] Does that mean that Milosevic "got stuck" with Panic?

[Jozsa] This is too harsh a formulation, but it is certain that these two people have different views about the future.

[Fuzes] Is it possible to "build" democracy at all?

[Jozsa] Certainly not theoretically, but it is not only possible and also necessary to do this in Serbia....

[Fuzes] As a VMDK member, you switched your place and became a government official.

[Jozsa] With this, I did not turn into a worse VMDK member, and I am not a worse government official either. On the contrary, I was again asked at home in Szabaka to represent the VMDK. This means that others believe in me, too.

[Fuzes] As a government official, what is your opinion about the VMDK's efforts for autonomy?

[Jozsa] I have the same opinion as before: It is very important that we worked out the concepts of a territorial, cultural, and personal minority self-government in due time, and we are urging this according to the different local conditions. It is another matter when and how this autonomy will become reality. The national minority problems of South Tirol were also solved over the course of decades. It is even more important for us and, therefore, less time will perhaps be sufficient.